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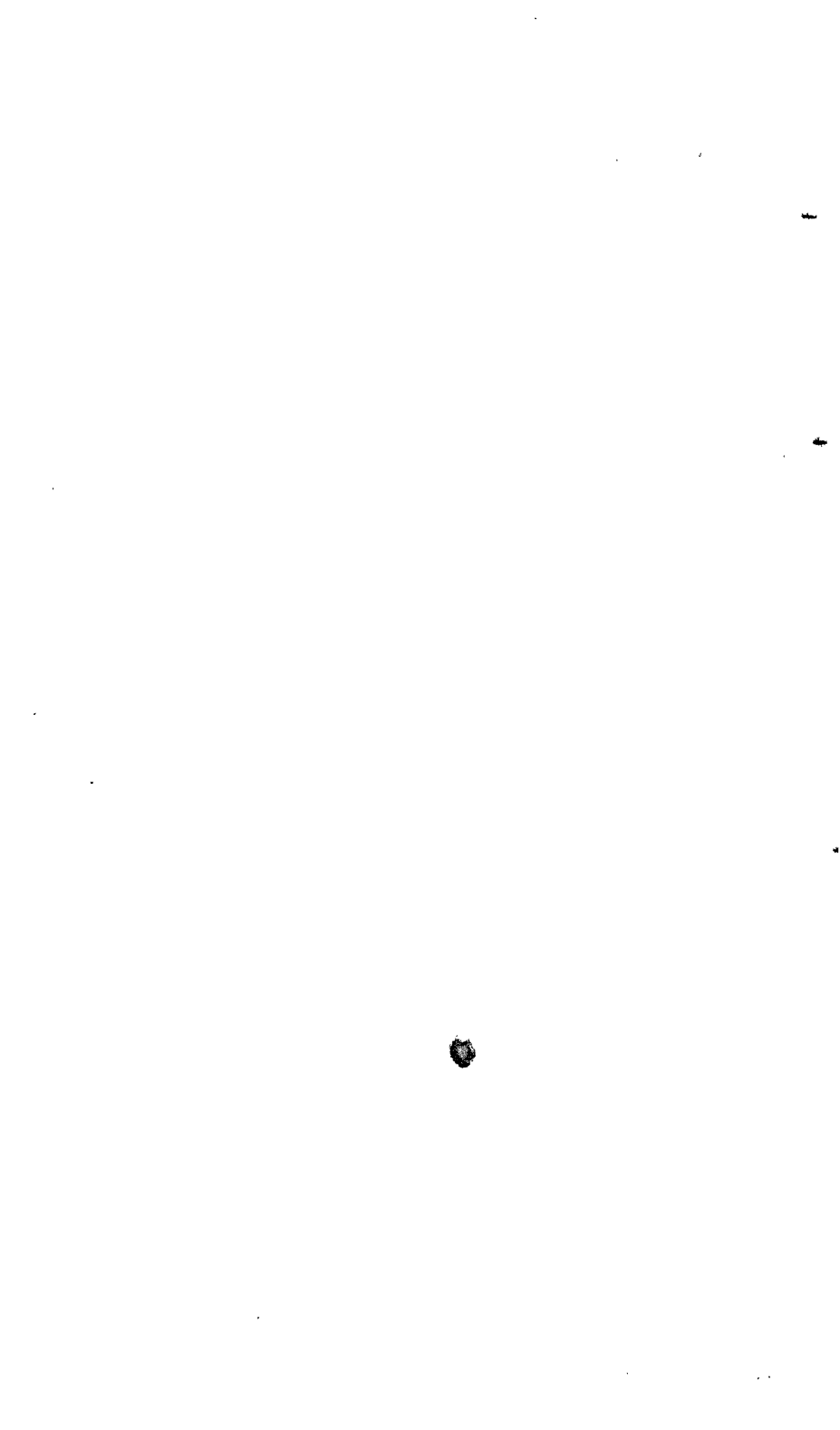
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**NON-PERSIAN SOURCES ON  
INDIAN MEDIEVAL HISTORY**





# NON-PERSIAN SOURCES on INDIAN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

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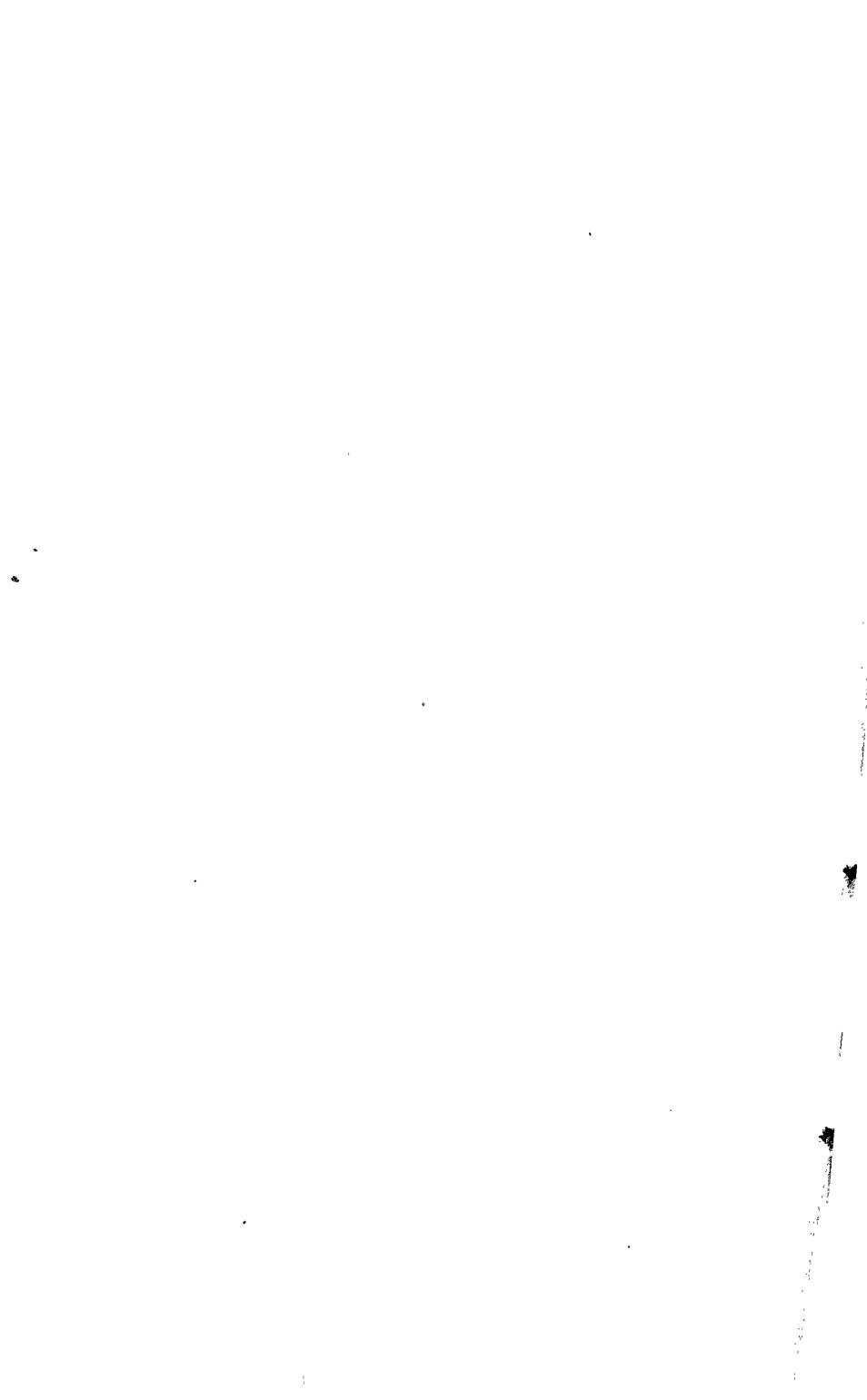
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*Dedicated to the lotus-feet of  
Ma Saraswati  
the Goddess of Learning*



## FOREWORD

This book on "*Some Non-Persian Sources in Medieval India*" (16th-17th Centuries) consists of three *Khyats* in Hindi script in Rajasthani dialect and the fourth one is an Urdu version of the original Persian manuscript. All these four documents were discovered by Shri V.S. Srivastava in the course of a search for archival papers in Rajasthan and the neighbouring areas and he was kind enough to present a copy of each of these four records to Khuda Bakhsh Library at Patnah on 29-6-56, thanks to the vigorous efforts of Prof. Syed Hasan Askari, the distinguished scholar of Indian History, who belongs to Patnah.

Out of the three *Khyats* treated in this work, the first relates to *Ujjainiyah Ki Varta*; the second is *Ram Das Kachhawa Ki Varta*; the third is *Bihar, Bangal aur Orissa Men Rajah Todarmal Ki Karguzarian*, the fourth is *Patal-Pota*. They have been dealt with here in point of the precedence of the time factor of the events treated therein.

As for *Ujjainiyah Ki Varta*, this is based on a Hindi document in Rajasthani dialect. The author of this document is Bodhraj who belonged to Pugal<sup>1</sup> in Bikaner State. Bodhraj was contemporary of Muta Nain Sinh, the author of the famous *Khyat*, and the Prime-Minister of Jodhpur in the second-half of the seventeenth century. He gathered materials for constituting the history of the Pramaras of the 19 States, viz, Abu,<sup>2</sup>

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1. The Pramara Chiefs of Sankla clan held Pugal. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I., p. 93, 1829 ed., London.
  2. Abu is celebrated mountain in Sirohi State, Rajputana. Lat. 24° 35' 37". Long. 22° 45' 16"E, 45 miles n.e. from Disa and 50 miles n.n.e. from Siddhapur. In the 13th century, Mount Abu, the ancient Ar-Buddha (Ar meaning mountain and Buddha meaning wisdom) was held by



Chandravati,<sup>2a</sup> Datta,<sup>3</sup> Santrampore, Rewars<sup>4</sup> of Gujrat and

the Pramarse of Chandravati, the vassals of the old Hindu Kingdom of Gujrat. The site of Chandravati, is now indicated by the mounds of ruined temples and palaces. The Pramara Rajput of Vehil or Bihil clan was the prince of Chandravati. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. I, pp. 4, 8 & 448, 1885 ed., London ; *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. pp. 91-93, 1829 ed. London.

2a. *Ibid.*

3. Datta is really Dhat which lay in the Indian desert and was held by the Pramars Rajput prince of Soda Clan. It was this prince who protected Humayun and in whose capital, named Amarkot, Akbar was born. See *Cyclopaedia of India* by Balfour, Vol. III, p. 278 under "Pramar," 1885 ed., London.

4. That Rewars had their principalities in Gujrat and Mewar, can be gleaned from the following notes. That Chittor was held by the Mori prince of the Pramara race, the ancient lords of Malwa, is evident from an inscription which clearly establishes the hold of Mori on Chittor in *Samvat 770* (A.D. 714) vide *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I., pp. 227, 229, 1829 ed., London. *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* in Vol. I., on p. 248 bears reference to Rewars to be a branch of Pramars. The Hindi document under study, however, sets at rest, the doubt as it specially mentions Rewars of Gujrat and Mewar to be belonging to the branch of Pramars. That Rewars, a branch of Pramars, held their principalities in Gujrat also becomes very probable in view of the connection that the Pramars had with Gujar as is evident from the indirect reference made under f. n. 2 Supra where in it had been recorded that the Pramaras of Chandravati were the Vassals of the old Hindu Kings of Gujrat.

(iii)

Mewar, the Pramars of Muli,<sup>5</sup> Bijollia,<sup>6</sup> Srinagar<sup>7</sup> and Bhojpur<sup>8</sup> etc., and devoted full 37 years of his precious life in collecting them. In course of making searches for the raw materials of the history of the Pramars, he has to visit different places and it was in this connection that he paid his visit to Jagdishpur<sup>9</sup>

- 
5. Muli is a native state in Jhalawar *Prant* or division of Kathiawar in Gujrat, formerly in Bombay Presidency, lying between 22° 33' 45" and 22° 46' 45" N. Lat. and between 71° 25' and 71° 38' 15" E. Long. Area 133 square miles, Muli is the only Pramara Chiefship in Kathiawar. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. IX, pp. 537-538, 1886 ed., London.
  6. Bijollia has been spelled as Bijjolli by Balfour in his work *Cyclopaedia of India*, Vol. III., p. 278, 1885 ed., London, Bijjoli is in Mewar. It is a chief village of an estate of that name in Udaipur, a native State of Rajputana. It is situated about 100 miles to the north-east of Udaipur, Maipawat Rajput is the chief of Bijjolli in Mewar. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 93, 1829 ed., London, says that Rao of Bijjolli is a Pramara of the ancient stock of Dhar and perhaps its most respectable representative.
  7. Srinagar is a place in Narsinghpur District in old Central Province, situated on the Umar river, 22 miles south-east of Narsinghpur town. A considerable place in the Gond Period, and the quarter of a large garrison under the Marathas. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. XIII., p. 77, 1887 ed., London.
  8. Bhojpur is now a village two miles north of Dumraon, in the Baksar sub-division. The village derives its name from the famous Rajah Bhoj of Malwa. See Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteer of Shahabad by L.S.S. O'Malley, and revised by J.F.W. James, p. 158, 1924 ed., Patnah.
  9. Jagdishpur is a town in the headquarter sub-division of Shahabad district, situated at 25° 28' N. and 84° 26' E. See Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteer of Shahabad by L.S.S. O'Malley, and revised by J.F.W. James, p. 170, 1924 ed., Patnah.

which is in Shahabad district of Bihar and where he stayed for six months in 1719<sup>10</sup> *Samvat*.

So far as the importance of this Hindi document<sup>11</sup> is concerned, it deserves to be critically examined while being edited and translated in all its entirety in view of the new light that it throws on the early relationship of the Ujjainiyahs of Bhojpur, situated in Shahabad district in Bihar, with Sher Khan Sur of Sahsaram at a time when the latter had been undergoing the varying vicissitudes of fortune in Bihar in the days of his pre-imperial glory. Judged from this point of view, the document under study throws flood of light on the local history of the Ujjainiyahs in Shahabad district in Bihar in the first four-decades of the 16th century and enlivens us with many new informations upon the relationship that subsisted between the Ujjainiyahs of Shahabad district and Farid Khan Sur, the son of Hasan Khan Sur of Sahsaram, at a time when the latter, being disgusted with the bad treatment of his step-mother and the utter disregard shown by his father who had been then under the all absorbing influence of his Indian wife, was proceeding towards Jaunpur in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The document continues to shed extra-light on the intimate and friendly personal touches that he continued to bear for Badal, the Ujjainiyah prince, at a time when he, at the request of his father, Hasan Khan Sur, had come back from Jaunpur to take charge of his father's *jagir* at Sahsaram in 1511 A.D. Farid was subsequently graced with the title of Sher Khan by Sultan Muhammad Nuhani of Bihar in the third-decade of the 16th century. The document under study enlightens us further with the friendly and patronising attitude that Sher Khan continued to bear for the two princes, namely, Gajpati and Bairishal, the two sons of late Badal, the Ujjainiyah chief of Bhojpur, who had remained the intimate friend of this Suri Chief in the past. The importance of the document attains to the meridian point of its high water-mark, when it gives a detailed account of the battle of Surajgarha

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10. 1719 *Vikram Samvat*=1663 A.D.

11. J.B.R.S., Vol. XLJ, part I, pp. 118-31, 1955 A.D.

(Mungher, district of Bihar) in its various phases relating to the changing military positions and situations of the contending forces therein, the battle having been fought in c. October, 1530 A.D., between Sher Khan Sur on the one hand and the Bangal forces led by Ibrahim Khan on the other hand who had been espousing the cause of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Nuhani, the son of the late Sultan Muhammad Nuhani of Bihar. The document throws, in particular, the light on the important role that the Ujjainiyah chief Gajraj (i.e. Gajpati) and his followers had played as an ally of Sher Khan Sur in this fight at Surajgarha and shows how far this Ujjainiyah chief and his forces had proved to be instrumental in bringing about the victory to Sher Khan's camp. The importance of the battle of Surajgarha which was fought in c. October, 1530 A.D. can be very well visualised by the fact that it forms an important mile-stone in the career of rise and growth of Sher Khan's ascendancy to power and hence it has been rightly described by Dr. Qanungo in his monograph on "Sher Shah"<sup>12</sup> as "one of the most decisive battles of the medieval history of India." This battle of Surajgarha, therefore, possesses an especial importance of its own not only in reconstructing the political history of India in general, in so far as it relates towards paving the way for the ultimate concentration of power in Sher Khan's hand and his phased growth of strength which finally resulted in the exit of Mughal power in India for some length of time, and in the ushering in the brilliant sunshine of the rule of the Surs in this land, but also in weaving the texture of the regional political history of this state in so far as it appertains to the final extinction of the Nuhani rule in south Bihar and its replacement by a more secure foundation of the Sur power here, which, with the passage of time, finally radiated beaming with imperial glory all through the length and corner of the whole of Northern India. The traditional accounts of this important battle of Surajgarha as contained in the Afghan and Mughal histories, viz., *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i Jahan Lodi Wa Makhzan-i-Afghan*, *Tarikh-i-*

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12. "*Sher Shah*" by Qanungo, pp. 97-98, 1921 ed., Calcutta.

*Daudi*, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghan* and *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, are neither wholly complete nor accurate and have been described alike only in some scanty narrative. It is only by taking them in account in conjunction with those recorded in this Hindi document here under study that one can form a reliably correct picture of the battle of Surajgarha which had been fought in c. October, 1530 A.D.<sup>12a</sup> This Hindi document then again throws valuable light on the history of the Ujjainiyahs in the Shahabad district of Bihar at a time when emperor Humayun had undertaken his marches in this province in 1538 A.D. While emperor Humayun, after conquering Chunar, was proceeding to Bharkundah in Palamu district in his campaign against Sher Khan, this Mughal emperor, in recognition of the services offered by Dalpat, an Ujjainiyah prince of Shahabad district in Bihar, gave to the latter some imperial contingents and it was with the aid of this force that Dalpat succeeded in driving away Maharajah Gajpati, the ally of Sher Khan, from Jagdishpur and managed to re-establish his hold on Baksar, which all lay situated in the aforesaid district. Thus the Hindi document under study has got a unique value and importance of its own in throwing light on the activities of Sher Khan in Bihar in the days of his pre-imperial glory and in reconstructing the regional history of Bihar in this period. It fills in important gaps and furnishes rich details of events which possess importance of far-reaching value in not only reconstructing the local history of Bihar but in making the study of Indian history as a whole more accurate, complete and wholesome. Then again this Hindi document under study is an important original historical record which gives a connected and succinct account of the Ujjainiyahs of Shahabad district in Bihar, tracing back their descent directly to the famous Rajah Bhoj of Dhar in Malwah and chronicles about their arrival in Bihar and their earliest settlement here which, on

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12a. I am sorry to point out that while my book "Decisive Battle of Sher Shah", p. 13, 1977 ed., correctly puts the date of the battle of Surajgarha as c. October, 1530 A.D., it has been wrongly printed in its five phases of map as A.D. 1534.

the basis of it, can be put in between 1365 to 1380 *Vikram Samvat*.<sup>13</sup> It gives since then a detailed account of the Ujjainiyahs of Shahabad in Bihar and comes down to 1633<sup>14</sup> *Vikram Samvat*, thus covering a period of nearly 27½ years (c. 1365-1380 *Vikram Samvat* to 1633 *Vikram Samvat*). This Hindi document under study also enlivens us with many new information relating to the important role that the Ujjainiyahs here has played in the regional history of Bihar in the times of the Sharqis of Jaunpur, the imperial Lodis and the first two Mughal emperors, namely, Babur and Humayun.

As for Ram Das Kachhawaha Ki Varta, it is a manuscript in Hindi with an admixture of Rajasthani dialect, It was written by Kanha, a bard of Kachhawahas of the village Achalpur in Jaipur State. This Hindi manuscript is an important source-material of the sixteenth century Indian History, especially of the eastern provinces of Bihar, Bangal and Orissa. Unfortunately the manuscript under study does not tell us anything about Kanha, the bard ; but it is happy to find that the main outline of his narrative is fully corroborated by contemporary Muslim historians of the period. The importance of this Hindi manuscript lies in the fact that it supplements Safdar Ali's "Bihar, Bangal Aur Orissa Men Rajah Todarmal Ki Karguzarian" with details of new information. Hence it is that the last named has been treated in this work just after this Hindi *Khyat* of Ram Das Kachhawaha Ki Varta.

Since this Hindi manuscript and Safdar Ali's "Bihar, Bangal Aur Orissa Men Rajah Todarmal Ki Karguzarian" deal with same series of events relating to Munim Khan's war against Daud Khan Kararani in Bihar, Bangal and Orissa in the years 1574-6 A.D., these two manuscripts are the first-rate source-materials for the aforesaid period in Indian History. While

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13. 1365 *Vikram Samvat*=1309 A.D. and 1380 *Vikram Samvat*=1324 A.D., 1365 *Samvat*—1380 *Samvat*=1309 A.D.—1324 A.D.

14. 1633 *Vikram Samvat*=1577 A.D.

the Urdu version of Safdar Ali's Persian manuscript<sup>15</sup> covers the period right from 19th or 20th July, A.D. 1574, to July 28, A.D. 1576, the Hindi manuscript<sup>16</sup> covers the period from *Chaitra Sudi Navmi Samvat* 1631/March 31, A.D. 1574 till the close of May, A.D. 1575, only.

As for "Bihar, Bangal Aur Orissa Men Rajah Todarmal Ki Karguzarian", it is a manuscript in Urdu, made available to the Khuda Bakhsh Library at Patnah by Mr. V.S. Srivastava on 29.6.56. It is a very important source-material of the 16th century Indian History, especially of its eastern provinces. The title, however, is a misnomer, as it deals with many things not connected with Todarmal. The introductory remarks of the Urdu MS., show that it is part of a work compiled at the order of Rajah Todarmal by his *Mir Munshi*, namely, Safdar Ali, in Persian during the period of Rajah's forced inactivity in the fort of Mungher (in the 25th year<sup>17</sup> of Akbar's reign), where Todarmal had remained besieged by the thirty thousand rebels led by Masum Kabli<sup>18</sup> and Mirza Ashraf-ud-din

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15. The author of this book, B.P. Ambashthya, wrote a paper on this Urdu manuscript and read it in the Medieval Section of the Indian History Congress at its Trivandrum Session in A.D. 1958.
  16. This Hindi manuscript has been incidentally referred to in a paper on Ram Das Kachhawaha, submitted by Prof. S.H. Askari before the Waltair Session of the *Indian History Congress*. Since Prof. S.H. Askari has not edited it with exhaustive critical notes in the foot notes. I felt the desirability to translate it after proper editing with a comprehensive foot-notes.
  17. 24th Muharram A.H. 988, i.e. 10 or 11 March, A.D. 1580. 4th Safar A.H. 989=9 or 10 March, A.D. 1581.
  18. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tr. by De. Vol. II., p. 534 (Calcutta, 1927 ed.) writes them as Asi Qubuli and Mirza Sahrud-din Hussain and puts the number of besieging Afghan forces at Mungher at thirty thousand.

and where the Mughal chiefs like Humayun Kamali<sup>19</sup> and Diwan Terkhan<sup>19a</sup> were deserting the Mughal camp to join the camp of the rebels. Safdar Ali, after consulting the documents such as the royal *farmans* and the official records available at that time, succeeded in compiling the work after a strenuous efforts of three months and presented it to the Rajah on 24th Rabi'a I, A.H. 989 (20th April, Friday, A.D. 1581). The Urdu version of the portion which forms the subject of this paper was done at the instance of Maharajah Ram Sinh of Jaipur, in A.D. 1874 by Ikram Ali of Salimpur Majhauili in Gorakhpur district. The importance of the work lies in the fact that besides giving all the salient facts recorded in the standard Persian Histories of the period, connected with the course of Mughal-Afghan struggle in eastern India in the second half of the 16th century which resulted in the final incorporation of Bihar, Bangal and Orissa in the Mughal empire, it gives many new facts not to be found anywhere else. The part played by Panwar, Kachhawaha and Ujjainiyah Rajputs of Shahabad district in the state of Bihar under their respective leaders, namely Ram Das Kachhawaha, Kishan Sinh and Ramapat Ujjainiyah and the role of the last two in the battle at Hajipur in particular in A.D. 1574, the details about the strength of their number in the battle and the name of place like Raghupur Diarah which was touched by them while going from Patnah to Hajipur, the name of Qasim Ali as being the leader of the force that was sent to aid Khan Alam in the fight at Hajipur, the specific mention about the appointments of Munim Khan as the governor of Bihar, Todarmal as its *diwan* and Ram Das Kachhawaha as its *naib diwan*, the refusal of Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah to return to Jalesar and his march from Burdwan to Bhojpur—these are some of the many new informations that

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19. T.A. tr. Vol. II, p. 536 names them as Humayun Quli Farmuli and Tarkhan Diwanah. *Akbarnamah* tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III. p. 454 (1939 ed., Calcutta) adds the third name of Shah Diwanah among the deserters who joined the camp of the rebels at Mungher.

19a. *Ibid.*



this Urdu MS. contains and which are not to be found elsewhere. There are of course certain discrepancies, especially in matter of dates, which have been considered in foot-notes.

As for *Patal-Pota*, it is a biographical study of Ram Das Kachhawaha, based here on a record known as *Khyat of Patal-Pota*,<sup>20</sup> a document in Hindi script of Rajasthani dialect.<sup>21</sup> The document is silent on its authorities. But it may be surmized and quite reasonably that its author is probably Kanha, a bard of village Achalpur in Jaipur State. This finding becomes irresistible in view of the fact that *Ram Das Kachhawaha Ki Varta*, another *Khyat* that forms a part of this book has been written by Kanha, and in both of these two *Khyats*, viz., *Patal-Pota* and *Ram Das Kachhawaha Ki Varta* the subject matter treated relates to a detailed studies on Ram Das Kachhawaha. The title of the *Khyat* "*Ram Das Kachhawaha Ki Varta*" and the very subject-matter dealt within "*Patal-Pota*" which is devoted to a detailed study on the biographical account of Ram Das Kachhawaha, also leads to this very conclusion that Kanha was probably the common author of these two documents. This receives further likelihood from the fact that Ram Das, like Rajah Man Singh, was a Kachhawaha and Jaipur State was the kingdom of the Kachhawahas and that Kanha bard too came from village Achalpur in Jaipur State. Hence nothing strange if Kanha, in accordance with the Rajput

20. "Khayat" is an apabrahms'a of the word "Khayati", meaning fame or renown. "Patal Pota" means the descendants of Patal. "Pota" literally means grandson and figuratively it denotes the descendants. Hence "Khayat of Patal Pota" means the fame of the descendants of Patal.
21. Prof. Askari had taken notice of this document, while basing his article on the life and career of Ram Das Kachhawaha in the Waltair session of Indian History Congress. But he did not examine it critically and comprehensively in the light of other contemporary sources available, and in my opinion it is essential to do so, in order to make a proper evaluation of the document, I, therefore, attempt it fresh here.

tradition of bards to record the chivalrous deeds of their patrons, might have been in the employ of Ram Das Kachhawaha as his bard to record his deeds. And hence these two *Khyats* appear to be the writings of Kanha.

The record under study gives us a systematic account of the early life and career of Ram Das Kachhawaha and the important role that he had played in the time of the two great Mughal emperors, namely, Akbar and Jahangir. Since it contains richness of details with some new information on many well known events of the period, viz., emperor Akbar's visit to Kashmir in *Samvat* 1646 (February, A.D. 1589) and the manoeuvrings of Rajah Man Singh and Azam Khan to deprive prince Salim, later on known as emperor Jahangir, of the throne and to replace him by his son, prince Khusrau, in succession to emperor Akbar towards the close of the life of this great and illustrious Mughal emperor, to cite a few instances, it deserves to be studied critically and in all its comprehensiveness in the light of the well-known sources, most of them quite contemporary, on the subject in order to evaluate a proper reappraisal on the historical value of the record under study so as to assess as to how far it widened the horizon of our knowledge on the subject.

I have made an English translation of all the aforesaid four documents with thorough annotations so as to render them worth-while for their best utilization by the scholars. They constitute first-rate source materials for proper studies on the materials treated therein and which cover the entire span of the 16th century and the first fifteen years, roughly speaking, of the 17th century. I will find my labour amply rewarded, if the book receives its due in the world of scholarship for what it is worth.

I am grateful to Shri Muhammad Ahmad of Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli who so gratefully showed his readiness to publish this work. I am equally grateful to Shri Lachhman Das of Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i Delli who took great pains in re-typing this manuscript.



# Genealogical Table of the Ujjainiya Kings and Princes

Udaiyaditya

Jagdeva  
Lakhshmidewa

Nardeva

Jasdeva

Hardeva

Sita  
Devraj

Ganga  
Udairaj

Kamla

Samraj

Vyaghraraj

Virdeva

Shivraj

Jivraj  
Ajairaj

Mulkraj

Bhojraj

Devraj II (1380-1400 Samvat)

Somraj (1400-1445 Samvat)

Harraj (1445-1450 Samvat)

Gajraj (1450-1470 Samvat)

Jagdeva (1470-1480 Samvat)

Sangram Deva (1480-1510 Samvat)

Ishwari Singh (1510-1513 Samvat)

Onkar Deva (1513-1545 Samvat)

Durlabh Deva (1445-1575 Samvat)

1st Queen

Second Queen

Third Queen

Badal Singh (1575 Samvat)

Gajpat  
(1590-1633 Samvat)

Bairishal

Sangram Singh (II)  
1640-1653 Samvat

Madan Singh  
(1633-1640 Samvat)

Ram Singh

Jaganath

Uttam

Shivaram Singh  
(1575-1590 Samvat)

Sangram Singh

Devendra

Ugra Sen

Ishwari Singh (II)

Dalpat  
(1633-1657 Samvat)

Hardyal

Makut Mani  
(1657-1663 Samvat)

Madhukar  
(1663-1667 Samvat)

Gokul

Narayan Mal  
(1667-1680 Mamvat)

Pratap Mal  
(1680-1694 Samvat)

Amar Singh  
(1694-1700 Samvat)

Prabal Singh  
(1700-1720 Samvat)

Mandhatra



**UJJAINIYAN KI VARTA**  
(The Accounts of Ujjainiyahs in Bihar)



“Bhoj Deva<sup>1</sup> was succeeded by his son Jai Singh on the throne

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1. Bhoj Deva is an illustrious ruler of Malwa. The history of Malwa is involved in darkness and fable. Ujjain which may still be deemed the cultural capital of the province because of its superior magnitude has perhaps more undoubted claims to remote antiquity than any inhabited city in India, it being not only mentioned in the sacred volumes of the Hindus, but also in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, and by Ptolemy. In the Indian manuscripts Malwa was noticed as a separate province 850 years before the Christian era, when Dunjee was at the helm of power. According to the Hindu records, the family of Dunjee reigned for 387 years, when Putraj, the fifth in descent, dying without issue, came to be succeeded by Adut Puar (a Rajput prince) who ascended the throne, thus establishing the Puar dynasty which continued upwards of one thousand and fifty-eight years to rule over Malwa. Malcolm in his work “*Memoirs of Central India*” on pp. 22-27, 1824 ed., London, has talked of this Puar dynasty which really meant the Pramara dynasty which had produced the famous Vikramaditya of Ujjain and Rajah Bhoj of Dhar (vide Tod’s *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 91, 1829 ed. London). We then possess no distinct accounts of Malwa till we come to the times of Vikramaditya, a prince whom all the Hindu authors agree in describing as the great patron of learning and arts. His name is associated with an era known as *Vikram Samvat* which is computed by the solar year and commences fifty-six years before Jesus



Christ. Thus Vikramaditya flourished definitely at least 56 years before Christ and thus he belonged to the Pramara dynasty which existed till upwards of 595 A.D. ( $387 + 1058 = 1445$  years—850 B.C. = 595 A.D.). Of the successors of Vikramaditya, nothing occurs worthy of notice till the eleventh in descent, the celebrated Rajah Bhoj 714 A.D. as the time of Raja Bhoj, (vide Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. 1, pp. 91-92, 1829 ed., London) whose name stands high in Hindu tradition. Jahangir in his autobiography (*Memoirs of Jahangir* tr. by Rogers and Beveridge pp. 406-407, 1909 ed., London) has recorded that Raja Bhoj flourished 1000 years before his time (1605 A.D. was the year of accession of Jahangir). Dr. Raghubir Singh in his thesis "*Malwa in Transition*" (p. 4, 1936 ed., Bombay) has fixed the period of Rajah Bhoj as 567 A.D. I have preferred to follow Tod's reckoning of 714 A.D. as the time of Rajah Bhoj as his reckoning fits in with the general chronology of the period. The name of Bhoj Pramara and the names of the nine gems of his court cannot perish. Rajah Bhoj changed the seat of the Government from Ujjain to Dhar where it continued to function till ultimately the Capital was transferred to Mandoo by the Mohammadan conquerors of Malwa. On the death of Jai Chand (the Hindi manuscript under study, however, mentions him as Jai Singh) who succeeded Rajah Bhoj, none of the Pramara being deemed worthy of the crown, it was placed on the head of Jeetpal, a Rajput Chief, who established the Towar dynasty at Dhar and it lasted for one hundred and forty-two years. It was succeeded at Dhar by Chauhan dynasty which was founded by Jagdeo and it lasted for one hundred and sixty-seven years. During the reign of Maldeo, the last ruler of this dynasty, the territorial integrity of this province could not be maintained and one Aunundeo, a chief of the Vaisya tribe, seized some portion of it. Udyaditya Pramara appears to have re-established his hold at Dhar by 1071 A.D., and he is

of Dhar.<sup>2</sup> The enemies,<sup>3</sup> having turned him (Jai Singh) out, established their hold on Malwa, Udiyaditya, however freed Malwa<sup>4</sup>. His eldest son Jagdeva left Dhar and went to Gujrat

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said to have died in 1096 A.D. (Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 96, 1829 ed., London). Since the era of Bhoj, the son of Moonj, has been satisfactorily fixed at 714 A.D. (Vide Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 91-92, 1829 ed., London) and since the era of a king is associated with the day of the accession, Rajah Bhoj would have ruled from 714-739 A.D., if we assume that the average period of a king's rule lasted for 25 years. In that case Jai Chand, the successor of Bhoj would have ruled from 714-739 A.D., if we assume that the average period of a king's rule lasted for 25 years. In that case Jai Chand, the successor of Bhoj, would have ruled from 739-764 A.D. Taking into account one hundred and sixty-seven years of Chauhan dynasty, the time of the reassertion of the authority of Udiyavitya Pramara at Dhar comes at 1073 A.D., and in that case his death in 1096 A.D., as recorded by Tod seems to be a reasonably a correct finding. Thus it was after a period of 309 years since 764 A.D., that Udyaditya Pramara succeeded in re-establishing the hold of the Pramara on Dhar, see *Memoirs of Central India* by Malcolm pp. 22-27, 1824 ed. London. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 91-96, 1829 ed. London.

2. Dhar is one of the old cities in Malwa and Rajah Bhoj who was one of the illustrious kings of Malwa had his capital at Dhar. In the time of the Muslim Sultans of Malwa the capital was transferred to Mandoo. See Malcolm's *Memoirs of Central India*, pp. 22-27, 1824 ed., London.
3. The enemy referred to who turned out Jai Singh from the throne of Dhar was no other than Jeetpul, a Rajput chief, who established Tawur dynasty at Dhar.
4. Udiyaditya freed Malwa and re-established the hold of Pramaras on Dhar in 1073 A.D., after a period of 309

where he founded a kingdom at Baglana.<sup>5</sup> Lakshmi Deva (the second son of Udiyaditya) ascended the throne at Dhar. He was succeeded at Dhar by Nardeva. Nardeva was succeeded by Jasdeva and Jasdeva was succeeded by Hardeva.”

2. “Hardeva had three queens. The first was known as Sita, the second was Kamla, and the third was Ganga. Devaraj, the son of Sita, and Somraj, the son of Kamla, left Dhar and founded a kingdom at Rajsena.<sup>6</sup> Udairaj, the son of

years, as the year 764 A.D., had witnessed the expulsion of Pramaras from the throne of Dhar and the foundation of Tawur dynasty there in its stead. See f.n. 1 above.

5. Jahangir in his *Memoirs* gives the following account of Baglana; “The Province of Baglana lies in between Gujrat, Khandesh, and the Deccan. It has two strong forts, Saler and Maler, The country of Baglana has pleasant springs and running waters. The Mangoes of that region are very sweet and large, and are gathered for nine months from the beginning of the immaturity until the end. It has many grapes, but not of the best kinds.....Every Rajah (of Baglana) there has been that place and they call Bharjive.” (Vide, *Memoirs of Jahangir* tr. Rogers and Beveridge, p. 396, 1909 ed., London). Abul Fazl in his work “*Akbarnamah*” tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 43, 1939 ed., Calcutta has given the following accounts of Baglana. “Let it not be concealed that Baglana is a country, one hundred Kos long and thirty Kos broad whoever is the ruler, is called Bharje. There are two forts—Salhir and Mulhir on the summits of hills. It has also two large cities—Antapur and Cintapur. It lies between Gujrat and the Deccan.” Under f.n. I on p. 43 there H. Beveridge in his translation of “*Akbarnamah*” Vol. III, 1939 ed., Calcutta, refers to *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, 399 for having an account of Baglana and says that it is a northern subdivision of Nasik. He further refers to Elloit Vol. VII, p. 65, “*Badshahnamah* and Bird’s *Gujrat* 122 and n. for getting information on Baglana.

6. Rajsena is really Raisin as in Hindi Language. Raisin

the queen Ganga, ascended the throne at Dhar. His minister got him (Udairaj) drowned in Narmada and he himself sat on the throne, Devaraj, having left the kingdom of Raisen to Somraj, came to Dhar."

3. "Jairaj<sup>7</sup> on the death of his eldest son Ajairaj who was killed, gave the throne (of Dhar) to his second son Mulkraj, while he himself took to the life of renunciation."

4. "Ajairaj<sup>8</sup> was killed while he was engaged in defending Mahakal.<sup>9</sup>

5. "Mulkraj<sup>10</sup> was killed at the hands of Yavanas (Musalmans) in 1365<sup>11</sup> *Samvat*."

6. "Bhojraj,<sup>12</sup> having taken shelter in the mountains, carried on the fight for some length of time. When he could not free Dhar (from the clutches of the Musalmans), he, along with his son Devraj II and accompanied by his Rajpur followers, left his homeland in search of seeking his asylum elsewhere. He led a life of roaming for a considerably long period till unti-

was a *Sarkar* of Malwa in 1697 A.D. (Vide "*Malwa in Transition*" by Dr. Raghubir Singh, pp. 2-3, 1936 ed., Bombay) and see also the map of Malwa attached therein.

7. Devraj had two sons, namely Jivraj and Jairaj, Jairaj had three sons, namely, Ajairaj, Mulkraj and Bhojraj vide the Genealogical Table of this Hindi manuscript which is under study.

8. Ajairaj was the eldest son of Jairaj. See f.n. 7.

9. Mahakal is the chief temple even today of Ujjain which was the capital of semi-mythical Vikarmaditya, standing on the site of the famous structure destroyed by Iltutmish in 1235 A.D. (Vide "*Humayun Badshah*" by Dr. Banerjee, p. 119, f.n. 1, 1938 ed., Oxford University Press).

10. See f.n. 7.

11. 1365 *Vikram Samvat*=1309 A.D.

12. Bhojraj was the third and the youngest son of Jairaj, see f.n. 7.

mately he received shelters with Mukund the Chero King of Kikat.<sup>13</sup>

The Chero King, having extended shelter to him (Bhojraj) and to his son and his Rajput followers, gave the lands of the Gangetic valley in *Jagirs* to them, Bhojraj and his Rajput followers came to be known as Ujjainiyah after the name of Ujjain (from where they had come). After sometime Mukund met with his death at the hands of the Yavanas (i.e. Muslims). He was succeeded by his son, namely, Sahasbal. He was habituated to taking drinks and drugs, was very cruel-hearted and was passionately fond of women.

As soon as he ascended the throne, he began to persecute his subject, robbed them of their wealth, and forcibly laid hands on their wives and daughters and defiled them. He sought the hands of the Ujjainiyah princess Bhoj (-raj) refused to give Ujjainiyah princess to him, Sahasbal came to seize the princess forcibly, Bhojraj fell fighting with the Cheros while safeguarding the honour and prestige of the family. Devaraj (II), after consulting his Rajput followers, invited Sahasbal to come for marriage. Sahasbal along with his followers went to the house of Devaraj (II). The Ujjainiyahs welcomed them and intoxicated them with drinks and drugs. When Sahasbal and his followers came under the influence of intoxication, Devaraj (II) slew them with swords in 1380<sup>14</sup> *Samvat* thus avenging the death of his father, and laid the foundation of a village which came to be known as Bhojpur.<sup>15</sup> His Ujjainiyah followers gave him Devaraj (II) the title of Santan Singh.<sup>16</sup> With the passage of time, his kingdom and territory came to be known as Bhojraj."

13. Kikat is ancient name of the people of Magadh, (Vide *Cyclopaedia of India* by Balfour Vol. II, p. 573, 1885 ed., London).

14. 1380 *Vikram Samvat* = 1324 A.D.

15. See f.n. 8 fore word.

16. *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, Vol. II pp. 1-3, Nawal Kishore Publication, which is a history of the Dumraon Raj in Urdu, gives an interesting account of Santan Sahi which has been recorded as Santan Sinh in the Hindi docu-

ment under study. It should be noted that the Hindi document under study gives original name of Santan Sinh as Devaraj (II) and records that he (Devaraj II) was the son of Bhojraj and was graced with the title of Santan Sinh by his followers in recognition of his chivalorous deed of killing Sahasbal, the licentious and cruel Chero Rajah in 1380 *Samvat*=1324 A.D. and also in memory of his laying the foundation of Bhojpur. *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, however, names him as Santan Sahi and calls him to be the son of Rajah Ganesh Sahi. According to the Hindi manuscript it was Bhojraj, the father of Santan Sinh, who had left Dhar and had come to settle down in modern district of Shahabad in Bihar on the southern side of the Ganga. According to *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, it was Rajah Santan Sahi (born in 1295 A.D.) who left Dhar at the age of twenty and came to Bihar in 1320 A.D., with a view to performing *Saradh* of his ancestors at Gaya and after observing the Hindu rites there, he carved out a principality for himself in the land of Cheros which had stretched as far as Banaras in the west, Patnah and Bihar-Shariff in the east, to the Ganga in the north and Vindhya-chal in the south. The reason as to why Santan Sahi decided to found a kingdom for himself in the land of the Cheros was that this area was formerly under the rule of his ancestors, i.e. the Panwars of Malwa who had come to Bihar in early period and continued to govern it for full 226 years right from 496 A.D. to 722 A.D.), when the Panwar Rajputs who were the descendants of Illustrious Rajah Bhoj. of Ujjain subsequently left their settlements in Bihar and went back of Malwa ; and thus the regions where they had been living in Bihar become desolate and forests grew therein. The backward tribes like Kols, Bhils, and the Ahirs formed their hutments there in the heart of forests and by the time Santan Sahi came to Bihar, the region was under the rule of the Cheros. *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, Vol. II. quotes from *Pushtanamah* (Genealogical book)

7. Devaraj (II)<sup>17</sup> was succeeded by his son Somraj in the kingdom of Bhojpur in 1400<sup>18</sup> *Samvat*. He died in 1445<sup>19</sup> *Samvat* leaving behind his three sons, namely, Harraj<sup>20</sup>, Gajraj<sup>21</sup> and Jagdeva.<sup>22</sup>

8. "It was in the time of Harraj that the forces of Khwa-

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of the Dumraon Raj the following extracts in Persian in support of its aforesaid statement and it is as follows :

ہمارا جہاں سانی اور دارالریاست خود یعنی اومین کہ آں رادرش استراندیکا پوری میگوند  
برایے سرادہ گیاجی تشریف آوردند بعد انفسراض از سرادہ مقام بھوجپور ازان بزرگان خود  
پنداشتہ دارالریاست خود بدین خاطر مقرر نمودند کہ ہر دو جواموروثی ماست انجم  
امر ریاست از اینجا ہم ممکن است استقامت درزیدند پس موجب قیام این مقام بزرگان  
بہمین ست۔

The Hindi manuscript and *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah* are, however, nearly identical in so far as dating the period of Santan Sinh is concerned. The Hindi manuscript gives the period of the Santan Sinh at Bhojpur as 1380-1400, *Samvat*=1324-1344 A.D., whereas *Tarikh i-Ujjainiyah*, gives the period of the stay of Santan Sahi in Bihar inclusive of the period of his rule in his kingdom as 1320-1360 A.D.

17. The period of Devaraj (II) was 1380-1400 *Samvat*=1324-1344 A.D.
18. 1400 *Samvat*=1344 A.D.
19. 1445 *Samvat*=1389 A.D. The period of Somraj was thus 1400-1445 *Samvat*=1344 A.D.-1389 A.D.
20. The period of Harraj was 1445-1450 *Samvat*=1389 A.D.-1394 A.D.
21. The period of Gajraj was 1450-1470 *Samvat*=1394 A.D.-1414 A.D.
22. The period of Jagdeva was 1470-1480 *Samvat*=1414 A.D.-1424 A.D.

jah<sup>23</sup> Sarwar while proceeding from Jaunpur to Bihar, crossed the

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23. According to *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr. by De and revised by Dr. Beni Prasad Vol. III. pp. 447-448, 1939 ed., Calcutta, Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Muhammad, who was the ruler of Dehli, sent Malik Sarwar, entitled Khwajah Jahan, to Jaunpur as its governor under a fresh title of Sultan-us-Sharq. When Sultan Mahmud lost power and dignity, Sultan-us-Sharq become independent and he brought under his sway the regions as far as Bihar and Tirhut in the east. The period of his rule lasted for sixteen years (786-802 A.H.=1382-1398 A.D.) *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* does not give any detailed account of the activities of Malik Sarwar in Bihar apart from the fact that Bihar and Tirhut were brought his control. The Hindi document under study, however, gives detailed information about the arrival of the forces of Khwaja Sarwar in Bihar, their fight at Baksar with Prince Gajraj who put them to fight, fresh arrival of Khwajah Sarwar's troops in Bihar and their fight with Maharajah Harraj (1445-1450 *Samvat*=1389-1394 A.D.), the father of Prince Gajraj, which resulted in Maharajah's death, enthronement of Prince Gajraj at Bhojpur in 1450 *Samvat*=1394 A.D., the flight of Maharajah Gajraj along with the Ujjainiyahs into deep forest and mountains, and their continued struggle against Khwajah Sarwar till the latter's death in 1456 *Samvat* (1400 A.D.) and finally the triumphant re-emergence of Maharajah Gajraj and his Ujjainiyah followers from their abode in the forest and mountains and foundation of the Ujjainiyah kingdom at Karur where Maharajah Gajraj ruled for fourteen years. i.e. till 1470 *Samvat*=1414 A.D. The period of his rule thus lasted from 1450-1470 *Samvat*=1394-1414 A.D. To this extent the Hindi document is an improvement upon the well-known history of the times and therefore, possesses an importance of its own in reconstruction the regional history of Bihar. It should be noted here that according to



ferry at Chausah and halted at Baksar in 1450 *Samvat*.<sup>24</sup> Some of these horsemen, while taking a stroll, came to the bank of Ganga. On seeing the Brahmans performing their *Sandhyas* and offering the light there, these horsemen began to interfere with them. When the Brahmans remonstrated, they got into trouble with them. After exchange of hot abuses, the fight ensued. At that very moment the Rajput followers of Maharajah Kumar Gajraj<sup>25</sup> happened to pass by and they at once pounced upon the Yavana (Musalman) soldiers. On receipt of this news, their compatriots (i.e. other Muslim soldiers) launched attack on the Ujjainiyahs in general and a fight commenced. In the meanwhile Maharajah Kumar Gajraj, on the receipt of the news of the flare-up of troubles between the Yavanas (i.e. Musalmans) and his Rajputs came to the aid of the latter. Many of the Yavanas (Musalmans) soldier were killed and the rest fled away to Jaunpur. On the receipt of the news about the massacre of his soldiers at the hands of the Ujjainiyahs Khwajah Sarwar launched attack on Bhojpur. Maharajah Harraj<sup>26</sup> fell fighting. The Ujjainiyahs took the wounded Maharajah Kumar Gajraj, Devaraj<sup>27</sup>, and other members of the

*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Malik Sarwar died in 802 A.D.=1389 A.D., whereas according to the Hindi document under study his death took place in 1456 *Samvat*=1400 A.D.

24. 1450 *Samvat*=1394 A.D.
25. Maharaja-Kumar Gajraj was the second son of Maharajah Somraj (1400-1445 *Samvat*=1344-1389 A.D.). Vide the genealogical table of the Hindi document under study.
26. Maharajah Harraj was the eldest son of Maharajah Somraj, and his rule lasted from 1445-1450 *Samvat*=1389-1394 A.D. vide the genealogical table of the Hindi document under study.
27. Devaraj has been wrongly written in the Hindi document for which the scribe is responsible. He was not Devaraj. He was Jagdeva, the youngest brother of Maharajah Kumar Gajraj, and the youngest son of Maharajah Somraj. Maharajah Somraj had three sons, namely, Harraj, Gajraj and Jagdeva. See f.n. 20, 21, 22.

royal family and fled away—The Yavana (Musalman) soldiers entered into the city (of Bhojpur) and began to plunder it. They demolished the temples, burnt the palace and thus destroyed Bhojpur.

9. "The Ujjainiyahs came out of Bhojpur and put Maharajah Kumar Gajraj on the throne. They took shelter in deep forest and mountains and continued their fight against the Yavanas (Musalmans). They came out of the hills from time to time, swooped upon the Yavanas, and after putting them to pillage and plunder, retired into their dens. The fight continued for years together, but Khwajah Sarwar failed to subjugate the Ujjainiyahs. In 1456 *Samvat*<sup>28</sup> Khwajah Sarwar died. The Ujjainiyahs came out of the mountains and forest and took up their abode at Karoor.<sup>29</sup> After ruling peacefully for 14 years, Gajraj died in 1470 *Samvat*.<sup>30</sup>

10. "Since Maharajah Gajraj had no son, he was succeeded by his youngest brother, namely, Jagdeva.<sup>31</sup> In 1473 *Samvat*<sup>32</sup> Ibrahim Shah,<sup>33</sup> being dissatisfied, sent a force to Karoor,

28. 1456 *Samvat*=1400 A.D. has been recorded as the year of the death of Khwajah Sarwar. See f.n. 23 for the time about the death of Khwajah Sarwar as recorded by Nizam-ud-din.

29. Karoor is situated to the South of Tappa Bhojpur at the distance of 14 Kos and is in *Parganah* of Danwar in Shahabad district in Bihar. See *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, Vol. II, p. 2, Nawal Kishore Publications; *Shahabad District Gazetteer* by L.S.S. O'Mally, and revised by G.J.F.W. James, p. 168, 1924 ed., Patnah.

30. 1470 *Samvat*=1414 A.D.

31. Jagdeva who ruled from 1470-1480 *Samvat*=1414-1424 A.D., was the youngest brother of Maharajah Gajraj and was the youngest son of Maharaj Somraj. See f.n. 20, 21, 22.

32. 1473 *Samvat*=1417 A.D.

33. Under f.n. 3, p. 452 of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr. by De and revised by Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. III. 1939 ed., Calcutta, it has been recorded that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi was

Jagdeva left Karoor and retired into the forest and began to pillage and plunder. He died in 1480 *Samvat*.<sup>34</sup>

engaged for sometime in an invasion of Bangal at the request of the holy Shaikh Qutb-ul-Alam. Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi had to return from Bangal as Rajah Ganesh (*Riyaz-us-Salatin* tr. by Abdus Salam, pp. 113-114, 1902 ed., Calcutta) names Rajah Ganesh as Rajah Kans. Rajah Ganesh is written in nimshihkashtah Persian

as راجہ کنش which can be read as Rajah Kans

also) persuaded the Shaikh afterwards to ask him (Sultan Ibrahim) to do so, on his (kans) promising to become a convert to Muhammadanism (*Riyas-us-Salatin* on pp. 115, 116 records that it was only when Jadu, the son of Rajah Kans, was mad a Musalman with the consent of his father, that the Saint Nur Qutbul Alam persuaded Sultan Ibrahim to retire from Bangal to Jaunpur, and the latter, after some hesitation, acted accordingly, Rajah Kans was spared by Shaikh from being converted to Islam). This invasion of Bangal by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi is not mentioned by Nizamuddin and Ferishtah in the text of their respective works. According to *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Ibrahim Shah Sharqi ruled from 804-844 A.H.=1400-1440 A.D. *Riyaz-us-Salatin* tr. by Abdus Salam, 1902 ed., Calcutta, on pp. 113-116, however, "fully corroborates the aforesaid invasion of Bangal by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and further tells us that Ibrahim Sharqi at the time of his his invasion of Bangal was ruling upto the limits of Bihar. But beyond this, one does not get in *Riyaz-us-Salatin* any other information which might have thrown light on activities of Sultan Ibrahim in Bihar, during the period from 1407-1427 A.D. The Hindi document under study, however under paras 10 and 11 throws flood of light on the activities of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi in Bihar during the period from 1473 *Samvat*=1417 A.D. till the death of this Sharqi Sultan in 1440 A.D., and to that extent it is an improvement upon the well-known history of the time.

34. 1480 *Samvat*=1424 A.D.

11. "Sangram Deva<sup>35</sup> ascended the *gaddi* of Bhojpur in 1480 *Samvat*<sup>36</sup>. His coronation was solemnised in the defiles of the mountains. At the time of his accession, he took a vow to wage war against Ibrahim Shah,<sup>37</sup> in order to free Bhojpur. The Ujjainiyahs also promised to carry on the fight till the last drop of their blood and so long as their hands were fit enough to wield the sword. For full twelve years Sangram Deva continued the fight against Ibrahim Shah. The fight continued uninterrupted for days and nights at different places. At last Ibrahim Shah died and with his death the Yavanas (Musalmans) left Bhojpur and took to their heels. Sangram came out of the forest and mountains, established his hold over Bhojpur and took up his abode at Deya.<sup>38</sup> He died in 1510 *Samvat*."<sup>39</sup>

12. "Sangram was succeeded by his eldest son, namely, Ishwari Sinh,<sup>40</sup> He had already been ill-noted for his pleasure-seeking in the lifetime of his father. On his accession to the *gaddi* he threw the affairs of the realm to the winds and began to pass his life in ease and comfort. On the receipt of the information about his being engrossed in pleasure, Mahmud Shah<sup>41</sup> launched attack on Deya<sup>42</sup> in 1511 *Samvat*.<sup>43</sup> As soon

35. Sangram Deva was the son of Jagdev and the period of his rule lasted from 1480-1510 *Samvat*=1424-1454 A.D.

36. 1480 *Samvat*=1424 A.D.

37. For the activities of Ibrahim Shah in Bihar, see f.n. 33 and para 10.

38. Deya is really Dewa, a place in Shahabad district. Mention of it has been made at several places in *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, (viz., on pp. 13, 15, Nawal Kishore Publication, 1870 ed.

39. 1510 *Samvat*=1454 A.D.

40. The period of his rule lasted from 1510-1513 *Samvat*=1454-1457 A.D.

41. According to *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (tr. by De and revised by Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. III. p. 458, 1939 ed., Calcutta), Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi, son of Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, ruled from 844-862 A.H.=1440-1458 A.D., and he, after a long and protracted fight for Kalpi in the west,

as Ishwari Sinh came to know of the arrival of the Yanana (Musalman) force, he left the palace and fled into the forest. The Yavanas (Musalmans) established their hold on Deya. He (Ishwari Sinh) met with his death at the hands of the Yavanas during his wilderness in the forest in 1512 *Samvat*.<sup>44</sup>

13. "After the flight of Ishwari Sinh into the forest, the Ujjainiyahs under the leadership of Onkar Deva carried on their fight against the Yavans (Musalmans). When Ishwari Sinh was

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patched up peace there and returned to Jaunpur where, after taking rest for sometime, he advanced to Chunar and subjugated refractory people of that region. After sometime, he undertook his march to Orissa and having plundered it and destroyed temples there he returned with triumph and died in 862 A.H.-1458 A.D. The fact that Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, the immediate predecessor of Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi, held his sway over the limits of Bihar and had waged a protracted war with Ujjainiyah Rajahs of Bhojpur, viz. Jagdeva and Sangram Deva, the war lasting for a good number of years, when taken in conjunction with the expedition only by marching through Bihar, makes it amply clear that Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi, the son of Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, also held his sway over Bihar. The Hindi document under study amply substantiates this finding by giving us a detailed picture of the long fight that Mahmud Shah Sharqi, the son of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, had with the two Ujjainiyah Rajahs of Bhojpur in Shahabad district of Bihar, namely Ishwari Sinh and Onkar Deva, the fight having continued till the death of Mahmud Shah Sharqi in 1513 *Samvat*=1457 A.D. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and the Hindi document are nearly identical in dating the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi, the son of Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, inasmuch as that whereas *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* gives the date of his death as 862 A.H.=1458 A.D. Hindi document gives it as 1513 *Samvat*=1457 A.D.

42. See f.n. 38

43. 1511 *Samvat*=1455 A.D.

44. 1512 *Samvat*=1456 A.D.

killed, they put Onkar Deva<sup>45</sup> on the throne and continued the fight. When the death of Mahmud Shah in 1513 *Samvat*<sup>46</sup> the Yavana (Musalman) soldiers retired from Bhojpur as it had become intolerable for them to put up with the constant depredations and warfare of the Ujjainiyahs. Onkar Deva established his hold on Bhojpur<sup>47</sup> which had been vacated by the Yavanas (Musalmans) and took up his abode at Bihta. At the time Hussain Shah<sup>48</sup> was engaged in fight with the Dehli Sultan. Hence he could not subjugate the Ujjainiyahs of Bhojpur. After a protracted fight lasting for 26 years.<sup>49</sup> Bahlol Lodi (1451-1488

45. Onkar Deva was the youngest son of Sangram Deva and hence the youngest brother of Ishwari Sinh. The period of the rule of Onkar Deva lasted from 1513-1545 *Samvat*= 1457-1489 A.D.

46. 1513 *Samvat*=1457 A.D.

47. See f.n. 8 Foreword.

48. Hussain Shah Sharqi, son of Sultan Mahmud Shah (II), son of Sultan Mahmud Shah (I), son of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi; According to *Tabaqati-Akbari*, tr. by De and revised by Dr. Beni Prasa, Vol. III. Pp. 459-460, 1939 ed., Calcutta, Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqi became engaged in fight with Sultan Bahlol Lodi of Dehli at the earliest in 878 A.H.-1473 A.D. The Hindi document in study, under Para 13, says that when Onkar Deva, the Ujjainiyah ruler, re-established his hold over Bhojpur and took up his abode at Bihta, Hussain Shah was then engaged in fight with the Dehli Sultan (i.e. Bahlol Lodi) and hence he could not subjugate the Ujjainiyah Rajah. This shows that Onkar Deva would have re-established his hold over Bhojpur and would have taken up his abode at the earliest by 1473 A.D.

49. The mention of 26 years as a period of protracted fight of Sultan Bahlol Lodi with Sultan Sharqi before the Lodi Sultan could occupy Jaunpur seems to be wrong as Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqi had ruled for only 19 years (vide *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tr. by De and revised by Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. III. p. 463. 1939 ed., Calcutta) whereas Sultan

A.D.) annexed Jaunpur and the regions as far as Banaras in the east to his empire in 1533 *Samvat*.<sup>50</sup> As soon as he proceeded farther eastwards, he had to encounter with the Ujjainiyahs. Bahlol did not advance farther and returned. Onkar Deva died in 1545 *Samvat*<sup>51</sup>, after ruling for 32 years.

14. "Durlabh Deva<sup>52</sup> ascended the *gaddi* of Bhojpur in 545 *Samvat*<sup>53</sup>. Sometime after, the Lodi Sultan<sup>54</sup> appointed Jamal Khan<sup>55</sup> as the governor of Jaunpur. Jamal, after establishing

Bahlol Lodi had occupied Jaunpur in his fourth expedition in 1477 A.D., forcing Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqi to remain content with a small territory which yielded him only 5 karors or revenue.

50. 1533 *Samvat*=1477 A.D., as the date for annexation of Jaunpur by Sultan Bahlol Lodi fits in which the chronology of the events. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tr. by De and revised by Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. III. p. 460, 1339 ed., Calcutta, clearly records that it was in 1473 A.D. that Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi proceeded to fight with Sultan Bahlol Lodi of Dehli and on p. 462 it says that Sultan Bahlol annexed Jaunpur to his kingdom during his fourth expedition against Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqi. Thus it appears quite evident that the fourth expedition of Sultan Bahlol Lodi which resulted in the annexation of Jaunpur to his kingdom took place in 1477 A.D. after having a protracted fight of four years with Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqi.

51. 1545 *Samvat*=1489 A.D.

52. Durlabh Deva was the son of Onkar Deva and the period of his rule lasted from 1545-1575 *Samvat*=1489-1519 A.D.

53. 1545 *Samvat*=1489 A.D.

54. The name of the Lodi Sultan was Sultan Sikandar Lodi who had ascended the throne of Dehli in the year 1588 A.D. Vide *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tr. by De and revised by Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. III, p. 355, 1939 ed., Calcutta.

55. According to *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tr. by De and revised by Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. III, P. 141, 1939 ed., Calcutta, Sultan Sikandar Lodi appointed Jamal Khan as the gover-

his hold on Jaunpur, sent force to Bihar. As soon as the forces

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nor of Jaunpur, Hasan Khan Sur, the father of future Sher Shah of Hindustan, had spent his life in the service of Jamal Khan. Hence Jamal Khan granted Hasan Khan Sur the pangsans of Sahsaram and Khawaspur-Tendah which were the dependence of Rohtas in his jagir and gave him the command of 500 horsemen. The Hindi document, is however, more detailed in giving the accounts of the activities of Jamal Khan in Bihar where he, after forcing the Ujjainiyah Raja Durlabh Deva of Bhojpur to fight in the jungles, appointed Hasan Khan (Sur) as his deputy here and gave him Sahsaram in his jagir. Hasan Khan Sur followed a policy of reconciliation with the Ujjainiyahs and the latter recognised his suzerainty. These informations are not available in the well-known histories of the times and to that extent the Hindi document is an improvement upon them.

56. Maharajah Kumar Badal was the son of Durlabh Deva from the first wife. From the second wife Durlabh Deva had three sons, namely, Shivram Sinh (1575-1590 *Samvat*-1519-1534 A.D.). Sangram Sinh and Devendra. From the third wife Durlabh Deva had a son, named Mahipat (vide genealogical table). *Tabakh-i-Ujjainiyah* Vol. II. p.

3, 1870 ed., Nawal Kishore Publication, however, records that Rajah Dulha Sahi (Dulha probably a corruption of Durlabh) had two sons from first wife and they were Badal Sahi and Ram Sahi. The Rajah (Dulha Sahi) had three sons from the second wife and they were Sangram Sahi, Devendra Sahi and Dilip Sahi. Rajah Dulha Sahi, according to *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah* had no third wife and that since Badal was blind, his younger brother Ram Sahi ascended the throne after the death of his father, namely, Rajah Dulha Sahi. The account of *Torik -i-Ujjainiyah* is, however, not reliable and trustworthy as its author, namely, Binayak Prasad, who was an employee of Maharaja Radha Prasad Singh towards the end of the 19th century, had little sense of history,



reached Bhojpur, they had to encounter with the Ujjainiyahs. Durlabh Deva, after meeting with reverses and defeat, fled to the jungles. Jamal, after establishing his hold on Bihar, appointed Hasan Khan as his deputy here and gave him Sahsaram in his *jagir*, Hasan Khan, far from fighting with the Ujjainiyahs, befriended them. Durlabh Deva accepted the suzerainty of Hasan Khan and began to rule over Bhojpur”.

15. “Maharajah Kumar Badal<sup>56</sup>, being dissatisfied with the bad treatment of his step-mother and utter neglect shown by his father, used to leave the palace and pass his days mostly in hunting. He used to go into the forest and mountains along with his followers and did not return home for days together. Many times he thought of leaving his country, but, on the request of his mother, he had to submit to the tyranny of his step-mother. In 1557 *Samvat* on the *Akshaya Tritiya*<sup>57</sup> Maharajah Durlabh Deva, at the instance of his (Badal’s) step-mother, declared Shivaram Sinh, the son of his younger wife (i.e. second wife), to be the heir-apparent. The forces of resentment reached its highest peak in the palace. His (Badal’s) another step-mother (i.e. the third and the youngest wife of his father, namely, Maharajah Durlabh Deva) and her son, namely, Mahipat, having colluded with his (Badal’s) mother, tried to incite him (Badal) to oppose his father in the defence of his (Badal’s) interest. But he (Badal) gave out his mind to remain peaceful so long as his father remained alive and for this he had to receive remonstrance at the hands of his mother and taunts from his step-mother (i.e. the 3rd queen of Maharajah Durlabh Deva). But despite all these, he stood firm in his resolve. Ultimately he, being disgusted with the remonstrances and taunts hurled at him days and nights, went on hunting into the deep forest, accompanied by his followers, He braved the unbearable pains of jungle-life with all his pleasures, but he never thought of coming back to his house. He engaged himself along with his followers in hunting all through the day and passed his nights with his followers in hunting all through the day and passed

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57. *Akshaya Tritiya*, 1557 *Samvat*, falls on *Tritiya Vaishakh*, *Shukla Paksh*. It, therefore, falls on 1st April, 1500 A.D.

nights on fruits and meats by the side of some water reservoir. In this way he passed months together. He hunted hundreds of tigers, bears, boars, hogs and deers."

One day he (Badal) was taking his mid-day rest along with his followers by the side of a water-reservoir. Some of his men were engaged in making arrangement for food. Perchance he saw a young *Yavan* (Musalman) horeseman coming towards him on the back of a horse. He came straight to these Rajputs without any fear. As soon as he came, he enquired of the route that led to Jaunpur. Badal told him that Jaunpur lay at a great distance. It would take several days to reach there. He asked him (Musalman *sawar*) as to how he would manage on the way. The youngman replied that the rich and the poor, and the sages and seers, all have come alone in this world and will go alone (from the world). Nobody teaches the art of hunting to the cub of the lion and the latter never waits for its associates in hunting. Then there is no reason as to why should he not go along his route alone without waiting for somebody. So far as the question of provisions on the way are concerned, there is available in plenty in the forest the water of streams to quench the thirst and the animals to be hunted to satisfy the hunger. Like you, I, also can hunt the animals, when I feel hungry and take rest by the side of the streams."

"On listening to the speech of the youngman, Maharajah Kumar Badal atonce took him to be a brave and self-respecting man of high descent. He requested the youngman to take some rest and partake of the food, and thereafter he would be taken to the route under the guidance of his (Badal's) followers. In case of necessity, the guide would sent his man to escort him (Farid) right up to Jaunpur. The youngman was tired and hungry. He accepted the request of the Maharajah Kumar (Badal), got down from the back of the horse, unsaddled the horse and let it loose to graze. Being simple-hearted, he came to Maharajah Kumar and sat by his side. After the partaking of the food was over, Maharajah Kumar came to know in his talks with the youngman that the latter's name was Farid Khan, that he was the eldest son of Hasan Khan, the jagirdar of Sahsaram, and that he being dis-

gusted with the bad behaviour of step-mother,<sup>58</sup> was going away to Jaunpur. On listening to his pathetic narrations, the eyes of Maharajah Kumar became wet and he became so much impassioned that he failed to speak. The youngman, on seeing that brave Rajput of good physique weeping, became surprised and asked him the reason for his shedding tears. Maharajah Kumar Badal in reply narrated in short the accounts of his life. The youngman, on listening to the narration of Maharajah Kumar, became all the more moved. Common misfortune brought them close together and made them friends of each other. Both of them, having swords in their hands, took vows to remain friendly to each other all through lives and to help each other in times of misfortune, They then embraced each other and separated."

In 1567 *Samvat*<sup>59</sup> Hasan Khan, being compelled (by the situation), called back Farid from Jaunpur and entrusted him with the charge of Sahsaram. As soon as Farid assumed the charge of Sahsaram, he sent his man to Maharajah Durlabh Deva with anxious enquiries about Maharajah Kumar Badal. A horse for riding and valuable dress of honour was sent for Maharajah Kumar (Badal) through his envoy and request was made to Maharaja (Durlabh Deva) to send Maharajah Kumar (Badal) to Sahsaram to stay there for sometime, if it does not occasion inconvenience to Maharajah; otherwise he (Farid) would himself come in person to pay his respects to Maharajah (Durlabh Deva) where he would be also able to meet Maharajh Kumar Badal. Maharajah could at once divine out the hidden meaning and its seriousness which was latent in the message of Farid. He showed great courtesy to the envoy of Farid, amply rewarded the envoy to the latter's satisfaction, and then sent words to Farid through the envoy that he had grown old and he was himself not capable now to conduct the affairs of his principality; that Prince Badal had been helping him

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58. For Farid's disgust with his step-mother and his journey to Jaunpur, see *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* by Abbas Sarwani, P.U.I.M.S. p. 7.

59. 1567 *Samvat*=1511 A.D.

(Maharajah Durlabh Deva) now in the administration and as such his going away (to Sahsaram) would cause trouble in the management of the affairs of the kingdom. In spite of it, he (Maharajah Durlabh Deva) was ready to send him (Badal), if he (Farid) needed him (Badal).

"The desires of Farid became fulfilled. Maharajah Durlabh Deva now could not afford to neglect Maharajah Kumar Badal and his mother. He (Maharajah Durlabh Deva) now gave them their dues in accordance with their dignity in order to satisfy them. But Maharajah Kumar Badal was not destined to enjoy ease and comforts of life. Farid developed troubles with his father afresh and he now went away to Agrah in 1574 *Samvat*.<sup>60</sup> As soon as Maharajah Durlabh Deva heard about the going away of Farid from Sahsaram, he, in accordance with the instructions of his younger queen, began to ill-treat Badal. But this time he (Maharajah Durlabh Deva) could not lower down Badal in his powers and positions that he held. His (Badal's) strength had now greatly increased. Thousands of Ujjainiyahs were ready to lay down their lives at his instance. Maharajah Kumar Badal, on seeing the change in the attitude of his father, left Bihiyah,<sup>61</sup> came to Jagdishpur,<sup>62</sup> and continued to administer the affairs of his realm as before. In 1575 *Samvat*,<sup>63</sup> Maharajah Durlabdeva died. A struggle for succession followed. The Ujjainiyahs came to be divided into three groups. One of them espoused the cause of Badal; the second group followed Shivaram; and the third group joined the standards of Mahi-

60. 1574 *Samvat*=1518 A.D.

61. Bihiyah is a village in the headquarters sub-division of Shahabad district, situated on the Eastern Railway, at the distance of 382 miles from Calcutta. See *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* by L.S.S. O'Malley and revised by J.F.W. James p. 161, 1924 ed., Patnah.

62. Jagdishpur is a town in the headquarter sub-division of Shahabad district, situated at 25° 28' North, 84° 26' East. See *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* by L.S.S. O'Malley, and revised by J.F.W. James, p. 170, 1924 ed., Patnah.

63. 1575 *Samvat*=1519 A.D.

pat. Badal held his ground on his throne at Jagdishpur,<sup>64</sup> Shivram held his *gaddi* at Bihiyah.<sup>65</sup> Mahipat crowned himself as Rajah at Matila.<sup>66</sup> The struggles assumed dangerous proportions and the fight continued every day. Mahipat killed Badal treacherously. Shivram Singh removed his hurdles by killing Mahipat and he then established his hold on Bhojpur. The queen of Badal retired into the jungles along with her two sons, namely, Gajpat (i)<sup>67</sup> and Bairishal.<sup>68</sup>

"The Queen (of Badal) passed her 12 years amidst the jungle people in the deep ravines of the mountains. She gave to her children education and training which were befitting of a prince. Gajpat (i) at the age of eighteen worsted the brave and the powerful fighters in the duel. Although Bairishal was only 15 years old, he was in no way less brave than his elder brother. Finding both the princes to be capable, from all points of view, the queen (of late Badal) sent them to Sher Khan in 1588 *Samvat*<sup>69</sup> at Sahsaram. Sher Khan welcomed them from the core of his heart, took them into embrace and promised to them all kinds of his help. After some days Sher

64. See f.n. 62.

65. See f.n. 61.

66. Matila or Mathla is in Shahabad district in the State of Bihar and it has been referred to in *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, Vol. II. p. 2, 1870 ed., Nawal Kishore Publication. It has been written as Mathila in *Shahabad District Gazetteer* by L.S.S. O'Malley, p. 168, 1924 ed., Patnah.

67. According to *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, Vol. II. pp. 15, 17; 1870 ed., Nawal Kishore Publication, Rajah Gajpati Sahi alias Gajan Sahi was the eldest son of Badal Sahi. Badal Sahi had two more sons, namely, Bairi Sahi and Bhajan Sahi. It further records that Rajah Gajpati ascended the throne in 1519 A.D., and was slain at the hands of Dalpat Sahi, the son of his deceased uncle, in 1577 A.D. According to the Hindi document under study, Badal had two sons namely, Gajpat and Bairishal and that Gajpat ruled from 1534-1577 A.D.

68. See f.n. 67.

69. 1588 *Samvat*=1532 A.D.

Khan asked the two princes to collect their followers. When the prince collected two thousand Ujjainiyahs, Sher Khan sent them to establish their hold on Bhojpur. After six months of fight, Shivram Sinh was killed at the hands of Gajpat (i). Gajpat (i) now ascended the *gaddi* of Bhojpur at Jagdishpur with all pomps and dignity."

"After some length of time Sher Khan proceeded to invade Bangal Maharajah Gajraj (II) (i.e. Gajpati) out of gratefulness, came to him (Sher Khan) with his 2000 Ujjainiyahs. They marched to face Ibrahim Khan in the plain of Surajgarha.<sup>70</sup> He (Ibrahim Khan) taking advantage of his possession of the fort of Munghyr, had planted himself in a superior situation by strewing his innumerable forces all over along the banks of the Ganga extending from Munghyr onwards (in the direction of Surjgarha). As soon as Sher Khan came to face them, he understood the implications and realised that the recourse to fight or retreat meant throwing oneself into the jaws of death and that the safety lay only in holding the ground firmly. He, therefore, took up his firm stand along with his forces in the face of Ibrahim Khan. Both the forces passed several days in stillness in expectation of attacks upon the other. At last Sher Khan divided his forces into three groups and decided to post one of them in front of the enemy, to withdraw the second division under the cover of darkness to a hiding place and to have the third division to make a show of retreat in the broad daylight. After posting the picked three thousand Pathans and two thousand Ujjainiyahs in front of the enemy, Sher Khan withdrew with his 5000 forces towards the east and then took up their stand in a hiding place their. On the second day the the third division of the Afghan forces began to make a feigned retreat. Ibrahim Khan, on seeing the rear of the Pathans retreating, fell upon their vanguard. The Pathans and the Ujjainiyahs held their ground firmly while facing their attack. Ibrahim Khan made several repeated charges till midday, but

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70. The Hindi document under study gives us some valuable information on the battle of Surajgarha (fought in 1534 A.D., according to Qanungo in his work on Sher Shah,

pp. 97-98, 1921 ed., Calcutta), which are not available in the well-known Afghan and Mughal histories of the period, viz., the posting of the Bangal forces all along the bank of the Ganga extending from the fort of Munghyr in the east to the plains of Surajgarha in the West, the fort of Munghyr, being then under the possession of Bangal Sultan, forming the main centre of supply line for the Bangali forces in their fight at Surajgarha, the quick realization of the strategy there by Sher Khan with a clear apprehension that recourse to fight or retreat meant disaster for the Afghans and hence the necessity of taking up a firm stand in face of the enemy forces there, the subsequent division of the Afghan forces by Sher Khan into three groups in the battle field at Surajgarha one group consisting of chosen 3000 Afghans and 2000 Ujjainiyah followers of Maharajah Gajpati, the Ujjainiyah chief of Bhojpur, who was the ally of Sher Khan Sur. Constituting the Vanguard of the Afghans and their posting in front of Bangal force; the second group, consisting of five thousand forces, under the personal command of Sher Khan, withdrawing under the cover of darkness, precedent to the sunrise, from the battle-field in the direction of the east and taking up of their position behind the height from where they could not be seen; the third group of the Afghan forces, constituting the rear of the army taking up their stand in the field behind the Vanguard. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (E & D, Vol. IV, pp. 339-342, 1872 ed., London), *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan-i-Afaghana* (O.P.L., MS. ff. 177-178), *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (O.P.L. MS. f. 127), and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (tr. by De, Vol. II. pp. 154-155, 1936 ed., Calcutta) say that Sher Khan had divided his forces only in two groups, one of which was put in front of the Bangali forces, whereas the second one was concealed behind a height. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* and *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi Wa Makhzan-i-Afaghani*, however, specially mention that the second group which was concealed behind the height was under the personal command of Sher Khan whereas *Tarikh-i-Daudi*

and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* only record that the second group of the Afghan forces was concealed behind a height. It is only Ahmad Yadgar, the Afghan chronicler, who records in his work "*Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana*" (pp. 181-182, A.S.B. Publication) who records in his work that Sher Khan divided his forces into three divisions ; one of it was left inside the mud fort which had been raised by Sher Khah there ; the second one was sent to face the enemy, whereas the third one consisting of four thousand *sawars* under the personal command of Sher-Khan Sur took up their position behind the hills so as to escape the notice of the enemy ; *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan-i-Afaghana*, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana* and *Tarikh-i-Akbari* ; however, are unanimous in their writings that so far as the Bangal forces and their positions in the battle-field at Surajgarha were concerned, their infantry, cavalry, artillery and elephants were arranged in line while confronting the Afghan forces. The Hindi document is silent on the arrangements of the Bangal forces in the battle-field at Surajgarha and it says only that the two opposing forces before coming to grips lay facing each other for several days in stillness in expectation of attack upon the other. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan-i-Afaghana*, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana* and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* record with an unanimous finding that Sher Khan, before fighting a pitched battle, shut himself up in a mud fort which he had built round his army and every day sent out detachments to give battle and routed the enemy's forces, till at last Ibrahim Khan was forced to ask for reinforcement from his master i.e., the Bangal Sultan and it was this news of the solicitation of fresh reinforcements which led Sher Khan to make up his mind to fight a pitched battle with Ibrahim Khan before the supplies could reach him. So far as the strategy adopted by Sher Khan in fighting the battle in the field at Surajgarha is concerned, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi Wa Makhzan-i-Afaghana*, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*,



and *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana*, write in an unanimous vein that Sher Khan posted a part of his men in front of the enemy and concealed a body of picked men behind a height, and instructed his forces which lay in front of the enemy to make a feigned retreat as soon as the Bangal forces started hurling arrows on them so that the Bangal cavalry, in order to pursue them, might come out of their line of artillery and gallop about. They acted exactly as instructed and as soon as the Bangal cavalry advanced, leaving artillery behind, Sher Khan appeared at the head of the forces which had been concealed behind the heights and put the Bangal forces to flight. Jalal Khan (Nuhani) escaped from the battle-field half-dead and all the camp equipments, elephants and artillery of the Bangal forces fell into the hands of Sher Khan Sur and thus the battle was won in one day contest. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shah* and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* fully agree with the aforesaid versions of Abdullah, Ni'amatullah and Ahmad Yadgar about the strategy adopted by Sher Khan in the battle of Surajgarha with this difference only that according to Abbas Sarwani and Niz'amuddin it was the Afghan forces posted in front of the enemy which first discharged a flight of arrows on Bangal forces and then made a show of retreat with the result that the Bangal cavalry came out of line of a artillery while pursuing the apparently fleeing Afghans, and in the subsequent route of the Bangal forces which soon followed Ibrahim Khan, the Bangal general, was slain. According to the Hindi document under study, the version of the strategy adopted by Sher-Khan in the field of Surajgarha differs in some measure from those given by the Afghan and Mughal chroniclers above excepting that the element of the feigned retreat was common in both the accounts. The Hindi documents says that the vanguard of the Afghan forces consisting of 3000 Afghan and 2000 Ujjainiyah soldiers were posted in face of the enemy, whereas one division of 5000 Afghan forces under the personal command of Sher Khan had withdrawn from the battle-field under the cover of

darkness in the direction of the east and had taken up their position behind some height which screened them from the view of the enemy. So far as the arrangements and the postings of the Afghan forces in the battle at Surajgarha were concerned, the versions about them as found in the Hindi document seem to be wholly correct. It transpires from the Hindi document that as soon as the rear of the Afghan forces started a feigned retreat in accordance with the plan of Sher Khan Sur, it prompted the Bangal forces to launch their repeated attacks with full vigour on the vanguard of the Afghan forces which faced the situation bravely till midday and in the second-half of the day the exasperating Bangal forces lost heart on seeing the coming up of the Afghan cavalry under the command of Sher Khan Sur from the direction of the east and turning up of the retreating Afghan forces which were then found advancing, and they thus came to be routed. A minute and deep study of the Hindi document, when taken in conjunction with the well-known Persian histories of the times, would suggest that the rear of the Afghan forces made a feigned retreat only after discharging a flight of arrows on the enemies and the latter felt prompted to launch attacks on the vanguard of the Afghan forces only when they saw the rears of the Afghans retreating. The Vanguard of the Afghans, although facing bravely the attack of the Bangal forces till mid-day necessarily made some retreat so as to draw away the cavalry of the Bangal army from their infantry and artillery which were left in the rear with the result that the Bangal cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, proved unable to cope with the Afghan horses and thus met with their defeat. The perusal of the Hindi document indicates that the battle lasted for two days which does not seem to be correct, as the battle lasted only for one day, and that Ibrahim Khan, the Bangal general, was killed at the hands of Maharajah Gajapati—the Ujjainiyah chief, which is completely new information. Thus a careful and critical perusal of all

these sources would show that none of them is by itself complete and authentic enough to enable us to form a correct picture of the situation of the Afghan forces in the plains of Surajgarha and about the methods of strategy adopted by them to win the fight against the Bangal forces there. It is only by taking a critical view of varying materials and their tit-bits contained in these sources that one can reconstruct a reasonably correct picture of the battle of Surajgarha and the measures adopted therein by Sher Khan which fetched for him a victory over the Bangal forces. A detailed and analytical study of the various sources noted above on the battle of Surajgarha shows that when the Afghan forces came face to face with the Bangal forces in the plains at Surajgarha, Sher Khan noticed that Ibrahim Khan, the Bangali general, had made the fortress of Munghyr to be chief centre of the supply-line for the Bangali forces in the field at Surajgarha, that he had posted the Bangali forces all along the southern bank of the Ganga extending from the fort of Munghyr in the east to the plains of Surajgarha in the west, and thus he had entrenched himself in a strongly advantageous situation there with the result that Sher Khan, realizing that fight or retreat meant disaster for the Afghans, decided to stand firmly in face of the enemy. Sher Khan accordingly took up his position in mud fort which he raised around his army, and sent every day detachments to give battle and routed the enemy's army in regular skirmishes that followed everyday till at last Ibrahim Khan had to ask for help from the Bangal Sultan. On receipt of this news, Sher Khan decided to fight a pitched battle with Ibrahim Khan before the arrival of the reinforcements could be possible to the latter, he accordingly informed Ibrahim Khan to get ready for the battle. Just before the dawn came, Sher Khan posted one division, consisting of 3000 Afghans and 2000 Ujjainiyah followers of Maharajah Gajpati, the Ujjainiyah Chief of Bhojpur, as Vanguards of the Afghan forces in front of the enemy; he then posted another division of his

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army to serve as rear to the Afghan vanguard in the fields, and he, with a contingent of five thousand horses, withdrew from the field towards the east and took up his position behind a hill which lay close to the field. The Bangal army, having arranged its infantry, cavalry, and elephants in line, confronted the Afghan forces. In accordance with the plan drawn out by Sher Khan, the rear of the Afghan forces advanced towards the enemy and, after discharging a flight of arrows, they turned round and made a feigned retreat. The Bangal cavalry, seeing the rear of the Afghan forces retreating, broke their ranks, left their artillery, and infantry behind and marched ahead to fall upon the vanguard of the Afghan forces. While doing so, the elephants of the Bangal forces got intermingled with their own cavalry and the result was that the array of the Bangal forces fell in disorder. In the meanwhile 3000 Afghan and 2000 Ujjainiyahs which constituted the vanguard of the Afghan forces, bravely faced the repeated charges of Ibrahim Khan till mid-day, although while doing so they made some retreat on a cool, calculated and planned line so as to draw away the Bangal cavalry from the firing of their artillery and made them detached from their infantry. In the second-half of the day the Bangal cavalry sufficiently advanced, leaving their infantry, artillery far behind, as soon as Sher Khan saw it, he, knowing full well that the Bangal cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, could not cope with the Afghan horses, atonce appeared at the head of five thousand cavalry which had been lying in ambuscade and advanced against the Bangal Cavalry. The Bangalis became panic-stricken at this turn of event ; the Afghans who had made a feigned retreat now returned and, after effecting injunction with Sher Khan, they fell upon the Bangal forces. The latter rallied and stood their ground and the two armies became closely engaged. A well-contested battle followed in which the triumph ultimately attained to the arms of Sher Khan,

Ibrahim the Pathans and the Ujjainiyahs held their ground resolutely. In the meanwhile it was seen that while Sher Khan with his *sawars* was coming onwards from the direction of the east, the retreating (Afghan) force were found turning up and making advances. The Bangal forces now came to be routed and they took to heels. The Pathans and the Rajputs began to cut the fleeing Bangal forces to pieces. The fleeing Ibrahim was killed at the hands of Maharajah Gajpati, The victory attained to the arms of Sher Khan.

"Sher Khan was very much pleased to see the bravery of Maharajah Gajraj (i.e., Gajpati). All the spoils of war, comprising of elephants, horses and other equipments, which had fallen into the hands of Maharajah (Gajpati) were allowed to be retained by him. At the time of departure of the Maharajah (Gajpati), he (Sher Khan) tied with his own hand the bejewelled sword to hang round his (Maharajah Gajpati's) waist, bound his arm with a jewelled armlet, gave a string of pearl round his neck, fixed up a bejewelled *Kalan gi* in his *Sirpech*

Khan, the Bangali general, was slain at the hands of the Ujjainiyahs. This battle of Surajgarha was fought in c. October, 1530 A.D. It should be further noted that Surajgarha is a village in the headquarter of sub-division of Munghyr district, situated on the southern bank of the Ganga, at a distance of six miles from Kajra railway station and about 25 miles from Munghyr. District Gazetteer of Munghyr by L.S.S. O'Malley, p. 263, 1926 ed., Patnah. It may be pointed out that by sheer oversight, the date of the battle of Surajgarha in the four phase Mapson it in my book "*Decisive Battles of Sher Shah*" has been wrongly printed as 1534 A.D., although in the text therein it has been rightly shown as e. October, 1530 A.D. The mistake came about at the time of taking their photographs which were originally published in Vol. XLVII, parts 1-IV, J.B.R.S., 1961, where its date was wrongly calculated then as 1534 A.D., a finding arrived at by Qanungo in his works on "*Sher Shah*".

(head-dress), gave a house, head-to-foot dress and a sword for prince Bairishal, and gave Baksar in jagir to him (Maharajah Gajpati) he having come back from Surajgarha took up his abode at Jagdishpur for some days. Thereafter he brought Baksar<sup>71</sup> under his control and took up his abode along with the Ujjainiyahs there".

"When Mahipat,<sup>72</sup> the uncle of Maharajah Gajraj (Gajpati) was slain, his queen along with her small son, named Dalpat, went to her brother Birbhan<sup>73</sup> at Arail".<sup>74</sup>

71. Baksar is a sub-divisional town in Shahabad district in the state of Bihar.

72. According to *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah*, Vol. II, p. 15, Nawal Kishore Publication, the name of the uncle of Gajpati (i.e. Maharajah Gajraj according to Hindi document) was Rajah Ram Sahi.

73. Erskine in his work "*History of India under Babar and Humayun*" Vol. II, p. 174, 1854 ed., London, refers to Birbhan of Arail. He wrote that Humayun, after meeting with defeat at the battle of Chausah in 1539 A.D. managed to effect his escape and proceeded to Agrah. He had not advanced far from Chausah when he was informed that Mir Farid Gaur, an Afghan Officer, was following him in the rear. In this emergency Rajah Prabhan (he was really Rajah Birbhan as in Persian writing Rajah Birbhan can be misread as Rajah Prabhan, the reason being that difference between *Be* and *Pe* lay only in their dots and since in *Shikashtah* Persian there is no hard and fast practice of dotting words correctly,

Birbhan ( بیربھان ) can be very easily misread as

Prabhan ( پرہبان ) a Rajpur chief, volunteered his service along with his followers to check the advance of Mir Farid, so as to allow His Majesty to tend the whole force of his arms against the enemy who had shut the road by which the Mughal emperor was to advance. The offer

was accepted, and the emperor with his followers marched straight against the Afghans in front who, intimidated by their determined appearance, abandoned their ground and let the way open. Jauhar in his work *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'at* (O.P.L. MS. F. 19) writes that when Humayun, after meeting with his defeat at the battle of Chausah proceeded towards Agrah, he came to know on the way that Mir Farid Gaur (an Afghan) was following him. The emperor expressed his anxiety and concern over this news. Rajah Birbhan submitted his request that the emperor should proceed to Agrah while he (Rajah Birbhan) would deal with Mir Farid and would bar his advance. The fact that Rajah Birbhan helped emperor Humayun in his proceeding to Agrah after meeting with reverses at the battle of Chausah in 1539 A.D., shows the deep debt of gratitude of the Rajah that he bore to the Mughal emperor and this became amply clear by the study of this Hindi document which says towards its close that when emperor Humayun had marched to Bharkunda in Palamu district after conquering Chunar in 1538 A.D., in pursuit of Sher Khan, he had given some imperial forces to Dalpat who was the sister's son of Birbhan of Arail and whom Birbhan had produced in the services of the Mughal emperor, in recovering his hold on his ancestral patrimony at Bhojpur and with that aid Dalpat had succeeded in driving away from Bhojpur Maharajah Gajpati. The Ujjainiyah chief, who was the ally of Sher Khan. It was probably in recognition of his sense of gratefulness to emperor Humayun for the help rendered to Dalpat, his sister's son, in 1538 A.D., in recovering Bhojpur that Rajah Birbhan of Arail, the maternal uncle of Dalpat, discharged his obligation by helping the feeling Mughal emperor in his going to Agrah after the latter's reverses at the battle of Chausah in 1539 A.D. The Hindi document under study clearly identified Rajah Birbhan to be belonging to Arail, a fact which has not been so recorded in *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'at* (O.P.D. MS. F. 19.) Dr. Qanungo in his work on "*Sher Shah*" on

In 1594 *Samvat*<sup>75</sup> Hnmayun developed difference with Sher-Khan, and he marched against Sher Khan and laid siege to the fort of Chunar. Birbhan produced Dalpat, his sister's son, in the service of Humayun and got a *farman* for the conferment Bhojpur issued in his (Dalpat's) favour. When Humayun after conquering Chunar, marched to Barcunda,<sup>76</sup> he gave some imperial forces (to Dalpat) to occupy Bhojpur.<sup>77</sup> Maharajah Gajpati, being overpowered, went to Sher Shah. Dalpat<sup>78</sup>

p. 196, 1921 ed., Calcutta, clearly says that Humayun in course of his flight to Agrah, after meeting with his defeat in the field of Chausah in 1539 A.D., was helped by Rajah Birbhan of Arail (near Allahabad on the southern bank of the Ganga) who undertook to oppose Brahmajit Gaur (the lieutenant of Sher Khan) who was coming behind the emperor. Humayun crossed over to Mirzapur side of the Ganga through this Rajah's help and pursued his journey to Kaldi by fording the Jamunah.

74. Arail was a parganah in the subah of Allahabad and it is near Jhusi. See *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, tr. by Lowe, Vol. II, pp. 124, 433 Index.
75. 1594 *Samvat*=1538 A.D. This year had witnessed the siege of Chunar as is evident from the article of Prof. Syed Hasan Askari on "Bihar in the time of Babur and Humayun" in current studies, Patna College 1957, p. 21 : see *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'at* tr. by Stewart, p. 9, MDCCC XXXII, London.
76. Bharkunda is in Palamu district in the state of Bihar. *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'at* by Jahar (O.P.L. MS. F. 13) records about the march of Humayun to Bharkunda.
77. Bhojpur is now a village, two miles north of Dumraon, in the Baksar sub-division of Shahabad district in the state of Bihar. The village derives its name from the famous Rajah Bhoj of Malwa. See Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteer of Shahabad by L.S.S. O'Malley and revised by J.F.W. James, p. 158, 1924 ed., Patnah.
78. *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiyah* Vol. II, p. 17, Nawal Kishore Publication, also calls Dalpat to be the son of the uncle of Rajah Gajpati.



occupied Baksar and Bhojpur and then marched to Jagdishpur. Bairishal, in accordance with the advice of Maharajah (Gajpati), left Jagdishpur and went along with the family-members into the forest of Rohtas. Dalpat became the master of Bhojpur.

RAM DAS KACHHAWAHA KI VARTA



“The Emperor (Akbar) got farious at the news that Munim Khan, having concluded peace (with Daud Khan Kararani), had come back. Having refused to recognize the conclusion of the said peace, Munim Khan was ordered to go back to Patnah to resume the campaign. Todarmal was sent to aid Munim Khan. Some days after, Ram Das was appointed as *naib*<sup>1</sup> of Todarmal. Ram Das, accompanied by his mansab-bearing Rajput followers and Kishan Sinh Panwar, started for Patnah on *Chaitra Shudi Navmi*,<sup>2</sup> 1631 *Samvat*. With the retinue of his followers he (Ram Das) proceeded from Agrah, halted at Pragji (Prayag of modern Allahabad) for some days, and finally reached Bhojpur<sup>3</sup> of the Ujjainiyah while coming through the route that passed via Kashi (Banaras), Kishan Sinh developed friendship there with Kunwar (i.e. Prince) Ramapat, the son of Maharajah Gajpati Ujjainiyah. On *Jaistha Badi Pratipada*,<sup>4</sup> *Samvat* 1631, he (Ram Das Kachhawaha) halted at Maner.<sup>5</sup> The other day i.e., on *Jaistha Badi Panchmi Samvat* 1631,<sup>6</sup> he

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1. *Naib* here means deputy.
  2. *Chaitra Shudi Navmi*, *Samvat* 1631=31 March, 1574 A.D., vide *Indian Ephemeria* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.).
  3. Bhojpur is in Shahabad district of the State of Bihar.
  4. *Jaisth Badi Pratipada* (i.e.) *Badi Jaistha Samvat* 1631=7th May, 1574 A.D., vide *Indian Ephemeria* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.).
  5. Maner is situated in the Danapore sub-division of the Patnah district.
  6. *Jaistha Badi Panchmi*, *Samvat* 1631=11th May, 1574 A.D., vide *Indian Ephemeria* by L.D.S. Pillai, (1400-1599 A.D.).

(Ram Das Kachhawaha) joined the (Mughal) camp at Patnah.<sup>7</sup>

"When Patnah could not be conquered by the Mughal forces, the (Mughal) emperor (i.e. Akbar) proceeded with a large force from Agra and reached Patnah on *Badi Tij Bhado*, *Samvat* 1631.<sup>8</sup> After examining the courses of war he (emperor (Akbar) ordered to strengthen the siege. Fatahullah Khan, the subahdar or incharge of Hajipur, had forced several of the Mughal commanders to fly away. The emperor deputed Alam Khan<sup>9</sup> against him (Fatahullah Khan). But even he failed

7. The detailed information contained here in the accounts of Ram Das Kachhawaha *Ki Varta* about the course of the narration of events relating to the continuance of Mughal campaign against Daud Khan at Patnah are not to be found in the account of Safdar Ali, the *mir munshi* of Todarmal, although the latter also deals with this afore-said campaign. Hence this account of Ram Das supplements that of Safdar Ali in many details which possess an importance of their own in the regional History of Bihar e.g., the date about the march of Ram Das and Kishan Singh for Patnah which falls on *Chaitra Sudi Navmi*, *Samvat* 1631=31st March, 1574 A. D., development of friendship between Kishan Singh and prince Ramapat, the son of Maharajah Gajpati Ujjainiyah of Bhojpur in Shahabad district in the State of Bihar, the arrival of Ram Das at Maner on *Jaistha Badi Pratipada*, *Samvat* 1631=7th May, 1574 A.D., and finally his reaching Patnah on *Jaistha Badi Panchmi*, *Samvat* 1631=11th May, 1574 A.D.

8. *Badi Tij Bhado*, *Samvat* 1631=5th August, 1574 A.D. It therefore tallies with date 16 *Rabi-ul-Akhir*, 982 A.H.,=5th August 1574 A.D. as given in Safdar Ali account, when the emperor Akbar reached Patnah.

9. Ram Das Kachhawaha *ki Varta* names him as Alam Khan, whereas Safdar Ali's account names him as Khan Alam. Since the name Khan Alam as contained in Safdar Ali's account is also found in Akbarnamah and other contemporary histories, Alam Khan as named in Ram Das Kachhawaha's account seems to be loosely written for

to cut much ice against the onslaughts of Fatahullah Khan. Many of his (Alam Khan's) follower were killed. Having received this news, the emperor turned towards his mansabdars and the military commanders and asked them if his *sardars* (military chiefs) and his sepoys had grown so weak and coward that they could not defeat Fatahullah Khan, Maharajah Kanwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah, Kishan Sinh Panwar and Qasim Ali Khan, all the three, after begging submission, at once solicited the emperor's sanction to try their luck.<sup>10</sup> The emperor, after deputing two and a half thousand of Mughal soldiers<sup>11</sup> under Qasim Ali Khan, ordered the latter to proceed against Fatahullah Khan. He (the emperor) sent Maharajah Kunwar Rampat along with his Ujjainiyah followers and Kishan Sinh with his Kachhawaha Panwars to the aid of (Qasim Ali Khan). The imperial forces proceeded towards Hajipur in big boats. But the boats, being caught up in the whirlpool of the Ganga and the Gandak, drifted away. It was just a sheer luck that three boats succeeded in touching the ground

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Khan Alam and for this the Hindi chivornment of a Hindu who finds it difficult to write Muslim name correctly and often at times makes certain distortion while pronouncing it in order to suit his convenience, is mainly responsible. Safdar Ali's account gives the number of 3000 forces while accompanying Khan Alam to Hajipur, a figure which is not found in Ram Das Kachhawaha's account.

10. All these details in Ram Das Kachhawa's account about how Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah, Kishan Sinh Panwar and Qasim Ali were spurred on to offer their services to the emperor in the campaign against Fatahullah Khan at Hajipur, are not to be found in Safdar Ali's account.
11. This figure of 2500 Mughal soldiers in Ram Das Kachhawaha's account, tallies with that of Safdar Ali's account. Safdar Ali's account, however, gives the strength of Panwar Kachhawaha's as 500 and the of Ujjainiyah Rajputs as 500, but these figures are not to be found in Ram Das Kachhawaha's account.

at a distance of two to two and a half *koss* from Hajipur.<sup>12</sup> Out of these three boats, one carried two hundred and fifty Kachhawaha Panwars of Kishan Sinh, the next one contained two hundred Ujjainiyah of Kunwar Ramapat and the third one had one hundred and fifty Mughal soldiers of Qasim Ali.<sup>13</sup>

"Taking no notice of the arrival of other boats, Kishan Sinh, Maharaja Kunwar Ramapat, and Qasim Ali proceeded to Hajipur along with their respective followers. Khan Alam was about to be routed as a result of the onslaughts of Fatahullah Khan. Seeing them coming Khan Alam got encouraged. The followers of Fatahullah Khan lost heart. Kishan Sinh, Ramapat, and Qasim Ali entered into the fight and started slaughtering right and left. Khan Alam in the

12. Both the accounts of Ram Das Kachhawaha and Safdar Ali agree how the boats carrying the imperial forces were caught up in the whirlpool of the Ganga and the Gandak while proceeding to Hajipur and how only three boats could succeed in reaching the other side. Safdar Ali's account, however, mentions the name of Raghupur Diara as the place where the three boats touched the ground and that the Diara was at a distance of 1 to 2 *Koss* from Hajipur. Ram Das Kachhawaha's account does not name Raghupur Diara as the place for touching the ground by the three boats and simply recorded that the three boats anchored at a distance of two to two and a half *koss* from Hajipur. Hajipur is situated in Muzaffarpur district in the State of Bihar.

13. There are variations in the accounts of Safdar Ali and Ram Das Kachhawaha about the numerical strength of the soldiers in three boats that landed at some distance from Hajipur. Safdar Ali's account puts it as follows 200 to 250 Mughal soldiers of Qasim Ali, 250 to 300 Ujjainiyah Rajputs of Kunwar Ramapat and 150 to 200 Kachhawaha Panwars of Kishan Sinh, Ram Das Kachhawaha's account puts it as follows : 150 Mughal soldiers of Qasim Ali, 200 Ujjainiyah of Kunwar Ramapat, 250 Kachhawaha Panwars of Kishan Sinh,

meanwhile started causing havoc. All, after combining, cut to pieces the forces of Fatahullah Khan. Fatahullah Khan fell fighting.<sup>14</sup> Hajipur came under the control of the emperor, Alam Khan, after filling the boat with heads of Fatahullah Khan and his Pathan followers, sent them to the emperor.<sup>15</sup>

“On the receipt of the news of the death of Fatahullah Khan and the establishment of the hold of (emperor) Akbar on Hajipur. Daud Khan got panicky. Having come out of the fort (of Patnah) in the darkness of the night, he (Daud Khan) fled away towards Bangal. Patnah came under the possession of (emperor) Akbar. The emperor, after appointing Munim Khan as the *Subahdar* (governor) of Bihar, Todarmal as its *diwan*, and Ram Das as its *naib*, returned towards Agrah.<sup>16</sup>

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14. A more detailed narration about the flight at Hajipur led by Khan Alam who came to be helped by Kunwar Ramapat, Kishan Sinh and Qasim Ali against Fatahullah Khan and his Pathan soldiers is found in Ram Das Kachhawaha's account and which has been finished in Safdar Ali's account in one sentence only.
  15. Ram Das Kachhawaha's account is here less detailed and informative than that found in Safdar Ali's account. Safdar Ali's account mentions 19th *Rabi-ul-Akhir*=8th August 1574 A.D. as the day when the heads of Fatahullah Khan and of large number of his Pathan followers reached emperor Akbar at Patnah who in his turn sent them to Daud Khan for demoralising the latter and that the emperor congratulated Qasim Ali, Kunwar Ramapat and Kishan Sinh on their success in the encounter with Fatahullah Khan at Hajipur—all these informations are not to be had in Ram Das Kachhawaha's account.
  16. Here also one finds that Safdar Ali's account is more detailed and more informative than the account of Ram Das Kachhawaha. Safdar Ali's account refers to 20th *Rabi-ul-Akhir*=9th August 1574 A.D. as the date when Daud fled from Patnah fort to Bangal in the night, mentions 21st *Rabi-ul-Akhir*=10th August 1574 A.D. as the day on which many Pathans fleeing from the fort of Patnah were put to sword.



"After going away of the emperor (towards Agrah), Munim Khan, Todarmal, and Ram Das proceeded from Patnah and reached Toliagadhi. The moment the Mughal forces arrived there (Teliagadhi), the Pathans left the fort (at Teliagadhi) and fled away. Having made necessary arrangements at Teliagadhi, Munim Khan proceeded towards Tandah, Daud Khan, having left Tandah, fled towards Orissa. The capital of Bangal (i.e. Tandah) came under the possession of (the emperor) Akbar."<sup>17</sup>

sword and then records that on 21 *Rabi-ul-Akhir* = 10th August 1574 A.D. Akbar proceeded in a boat to Daryapur where he ultimately decided to go back to Agrah all these informations are not found in Ram Das Kachhawaha's account. The fact that Munim Khan was appointed governor of Bihar, Todarmal as its *diwan* and Ram Das as its *naib diwan* has been referred to in both the accounts of Safdar Ali and Ram Das. Safdar Ali's account, however, contains certain new informations e.g. that the emperor proceeded to Agrah on 28th *Rabi-ul-Akhir* = 17th August 1574 and that he entrusted to Munim Khan, Todarmal and Ram Das the task of conquering Bangal and Orissa by annihilating Daud Khan all these are not to be found in Ram Das's account.

17. Safdar Ali's account outstrips once again Ram Das Kachhawaha's account in many details which the latter does not contain. For example the mention about the date 2nd *Jamadi-ul-Awwal* = 20th August. 1574 A.D. when Munim Khan left Daryapur (near Mokamah in Bihar) for proceeding to Teliagadhi on route in Landah Munim Khan's arrival at Teliagadhi on 15th *Jamadi-ul-Awwal* = 2nd September 1574 A.D. being accompanied by Todarmal and Ram Das Kachhawaha and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjaiyah (the names of Todarmal and Ram Das have, however, been mentioned in Ram Das' account also). mention of 22nd *Jamadi-ul-Awwal* = 9th September 1574 A.D. as the date when Munim Khan left Teliagadhi for Tandah, the despatch of Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) in

"Some days, Munim Khan sent Todarmal along with his ten thousand forces and Ram Das with his 500 *mansab* — bearing Rajpur forces against Daud Khan. Todarmal and Ram Das along with their forces reached Madaran. They received the news there (at Nadaran) that Daud Khan had been collecting his forces at Ran Kesri. Todarmal and Ram Das, having sent this news to Munim Khan, awaited there (at Madaran)".<sup>18</sup>

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pursuit of Daud from a place which was at some distance from Tandah and entering of Munim Khan into Tandah of 4th *Jamadi-ul-Akhir* = 21st September 1574 A.D.—these detailed informations which Safdar Ali's accounts contain, are not found in Ram Das's accounts.

18. The following informations contained in Safdar Ali's account—the further advance of Muhammad Quli Khan from Satgaon in pursuit of Daud and his retreat after an encounter with Mirawandi Khan, the despatch of Todarmal, Ram Das Kachhawaha and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah by Munim Khan in pursuit of Daud on 25th *Jamadi-ul-Akhir* = 12th October 1574 A.D. (Ram Das's account mentions about the despatch of Todarmal and Ram Das only), deputing Murad Khan towards Fathabad and Bogra while Munim Khan devoting himself towards attending to the affairs of Tandah, the arrival of Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh Panwar and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah at on 15th *Rajab* i.e., 31st October, 1574 A.D. (Ram Das's account mentions about the arrival of Todarmal and Ram Das only at Madaran), the information that they (Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh, and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah) gained at Madaran to the effect that Daud with his 50 to 60 thousand forces had taken up his position at Rankesri with a view to giving a fight to them (Ram Das's account mentions only about the collection of forces at Rankesri by Daud without specifying numerical strength of Daud's followers and their intention to fight there)—are not to be found in Ram Das's account. The account of Ram Das, however, contains one thing

"After receiving the news, Munim Khan sent Muhammad Quli Khan along with a force (towards Madaran). On the arrival of Muhammad Quli Khan, Todarmal and Ram Das proceeded from Madaran and reached Guliyar. Abdul Qasim was deputed against Junaid ; but Junaid forced Abdul Qasim to fly away. On hearing his (Abdul Qasim's) reverses, Todarmal sent Kishan Sinh Panwar and his Rajput followers, duly reinforced with his Todarmal's two thousand sepoy, against Junaid. Kishan Sinh advanced against Junaid, but the latter concealed himself in the thickness of the forest. Thereafter, Junaid and Daud Khan fled towards Jalesar. On hearing the news of the flight of Daud Khan, Todarmal, Ram Das and Muhammad Quli Khan proceeded in his (Daud Khan's) pursuit. Kishan Sinh joined them on the way. They all now reached Jalesar. Sometime after Muhammad Quli died. As soon as he died, the trouble broke forth in the rank and file of the Mughal sardars (chiefs). Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh and Maharajah Kunwar Ramapat, having been displeased, proceeded from Jalesar towards Patnah."<sup>19</sup>

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that Safdar Ali's account does not possess and that is the information about the numerical strength of the forces that Todarmal and Ram Das had while pursuing Daud under the order of Munim Khan from Tandah. The number was ten thousand forces attached to Todarmal and 500 mansab-bearing Rajput followers of Ram Das.

19. Safdar Ali's account contains certain things which are not available in Ram Das accounts and the latter also contains some matters which are not found in the former's account. For example, the followers matters in Safdar Ali's accounts are not available in Ram Das account—the information sent by Todarmal from Madaran to Munim Khan which reached the latter on 30th *Rajab* = 15th November, 1574 A.D. Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) and his forces joining Todarmal camp at Madaran on 10th *Shaban* = (25th November 1574 A.D.), the march of Todarmal and Ram Das from Madaran on 16th *Shaban* = 1st December, 1574 A.D. for Rankesri, the information gained by Todarmal

“When Munim Khan received the news that Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh and Maharajah Kunwar Rampat, having been displeased, had left the Mughal forces and had pro-

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and Ram Das Guliyar that Junaid was marching to join Daud, the sending of Kishan Sinh Panwar and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah against Daud (Ram Das's account mentions the name of Kishan Sinh only), the ingenious method of allowing his followers to move in groups of two to four from his jungle fastness, as adopted by Junaid, while joining Daud in order to escape notice at the hand of the Mughal forces, the march of Todarmal, Ram Das and Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) from Guliyar on the 17th *Shaban*=2nd December, 1574 A.D. towards Rankesri and their knowledge gained at Guliyar about the flight of Daud to Cuttack and their arrival of Jalesar on 22nd *Shaban*=7th December, 1574 A.D., the arrangement made by Todarmal clothings of soldiers during his stay at Jalesar the arrival of cloth—Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh, and Kunwar Ramapat at Burdwan on 22nd *Shawwal*=4th February 1575 A.D. which has been corrected in the footnote as 2nd *Ramazan*=16th December 574 A.D., after the outbreak of the dissensions in the Mughal Camp which followed the death of Muhammad Quli (Barlas). On the other hand Ram Das's account contains the following informations which are not available in Safdar Ali's account—while sending Kishan Sinh Panwar against Junaid. Todarmal had given his two thousand sepoys to aid Kishan Sinh in the projected campaign, the subsequent flight of Junaid and Daud Khan after effecting their junction towards Jalesar, Kishan Sinh joining the camps of Todarmal, Ram Das, and Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) on the way in their march to Jalesar, and the specific mention about Patnah towards which Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah were proceeding after leaving the Mughal camp at Jalesar, Safdar Ali's account, duly supported by Akbarnamah, writes the name of the officer sent against Junaid as Abul Qasim but Ram Das's account wrongly names him as Abdul Qasim.

ceeded towards Patnah, he (Munim Khan) sent his own messenger to them, requesting them to turn back. When Todarmal, Ram Das and others reached Burdwan, the messenger of Munim Khan met them. The latter persuaded Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh and Kunwar Ramapat (to turn back). Todarmal, Ram Das and Kishan Sinh after being prevailed upon to move back from Burdwan towards Jalesar, proceeded accordingly. But Kunwar Ramapat, having kept silent, marched with his Ujjainiyah followers towards Bhojpur. Todarmal and Ram Das, having proceeded from Burdwan, reached Bakhtori via Jalesar. Munim Khan, having marched from Tandah, joined Todarmal and Ram Das.<sup>20</sup>

“After staying at Bakhtori for some days, the Mughal forces, being duly equipped, marched against Daud Khan. When the Mughal forces reached Tukaroi, they found the Pathans barring their way. In the front of the Pathan forces there were posted thousands of elephants, in the centre there were fifty thousand *sawars* (cavalry) and in the rear there were a lakh of infantry. Munim Khan kept his cannons in front row of his forces, himself commanded the centre, posted Alam Khan in the vanguard. Todarmal and Kishan Sinh in the left wing the Muhammad Quli Khan (Toqbai) in the right wing and appointed Abdullah Khan for their help. The Pathans after keeping

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20. Safdar Ali's account then again contains the following information which are not available in Ram Das' accounts—the specific mention about the date of the messenger of Mun'im Khan at Burdwan which falls on the 5th *Ramzan* = 19th December 1574 A.D. to persuade Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh and Ramapat Ujjainiyah to go back from Burdwan to Jalesar, the consequent arrival of Todarmal, Ram Das and Kishan Sinh only at Jalesar on the 7th *Ramzan* = 21st December 1574 A.D., arrival of Todarmal at Chitwa on 2nd *Ziqadah* = 13th February 1575 A.D. after proceeding via Madaran and Midnapoor, coming of Munim Khan from Tandah and joining Todarmal at Chitwa on 5th *Ziqadah* = 16 February, 1575 A.D., the arrival of Mughal forces from Chitwa to Bakhturi in one day, i.e. on 7th *Ziqadah* = 18th February, 1575 A.D.

the elephants in the front and horses just behind the rows of elephants, started marching. Behind the elephants and the horses, the (Pathan) infantry like the swarm of locusts, marched on. On seeing the rows of elephants, the Mughal cannons started emitting fire. The firings of cannons killed hundreds of elephants and horses. But the fury of attack of the advancing Pathans could not abate. In the last resort Mughals and the Pathans came to physical grips and became deeply engaged in fighting forgetting everything else. Thousands of the Mughals came to be trampled down by the elephants. Hundreds of Pathans and their elephants and horses were wiped out of their existence by the fire of cannons. Thousands of the Mughals and Pathans perished. But nobody was in a mood to desert the field. In the meantime Gujar Khan, having marched onwards, pounced upon the Mughal vanguard and began to cut the Mughals to pieces like carrots and radishes. Munim Khan, after being wounded, fell down from the horse. As soon as he (Munim Khan) fell, the Mughals in the vanguard got perturbed and were about to be routed. Just at that moment Kishan Sinh came up to face Gujar Khan. The Pathans and the Rajputs came to clashes and began to show the feats of their valour in the sword-wielding. All began to shout in praise at the sight of the valiant fight between Gujar Khan and Kishan Sinh. In the end Gujar Khan was killed with an arrow and his forces started flying. The Rajputs pursued them. Seeing the detachment of Gujar Khan fleeing and the Rajputs pursuing, the rest of the Pathans also took to their heels. Daud Khan attempted to check the flight of the Afghans but to no effect. The flight became general in the camp of the Pathans and all started deserting their places. The Mughals while pursuing out thousands of them (the Pathan soldiers) to pieces. The victory went into the hands of the Mughals. All the equipments, elephants and horses fell into the hands of the Mughals. The blood that came out of the corpses of the sepoys, elephants and horses stained the earth of the battlefield. While the wounded were crying, the crows and the vultures were making sumptuous dishes out of the said corpses. It was a terrible sight. The brave fighters even trembled. Todarmal, Ram Das, and other chiefs came to the wounded

Munim Khan to honour him. Munim Khan said to Todarmal and Ram Das not to worry and directed them to pursue Daud Khan. He (Munim Khan) directed other chiefs to look after the wounded and to dispose of the dead.<sup>21</sup>

“Todarmal, Ram Das and Kishan Sinh, pursued Daud Khan. But in spite of the best efforts Daud Khan could not be arrested. Todarmal, Ram Das and Kishan Sinh, while pursuing (Daud), reached Bhadrak. There they came to know that Daud Khan had reached Cuttack where the Pathan soldiers who had fled away from the battle-field of Tukaroi had started flocking round him. They, after sending this news to Munim Khan, waited there, as they did not deem it fit to advance. As soon as the news reached Munim Khan, he, forgetful his

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21. The following informations contained in Safdar Ali's account are not to be had in the account of Ram Das—the specific mention about the date when the Mughal forces reached Tukaroi, the date being 20th *Ziqadah*=3rd March, 1575 A.D., the death of Khan Alam, the leaders of the Mughal vanguard in the battle of Tukaroi, at the hands of Gujar Khan, the fall of Munim Khan from the back of the horse upon the ground after having been wounded in the chest by the spear-strokes of Gujar Khan who was about to kill Munim Khan when the latter was saved by the timely arrival of Kishan Sinh. On the other hand the account of Ram Das contains certain things which are not found in the account of Safdar Ali, e.g., the mention about the strength of the Pathan forces which was fifty thousand *sawars* in the centre and a lakh of infantry in the rear, the great valour shown in the battle by both Gujar Khan and Kishan Sinh which caused shouts of praises, the futile attempt made by Daud to restore order in the Afghan forces after the death of Gujar Khan, the ghastly scenes that were noticeable in the field of Tukaroi e.g., the whole battle-field being drenched with blood the cry of the wounded and the pouncing of the crows and the vulture upon the dead—a sight which led the brave fighters even to tremble.

wounds, started and joined Todarmal and Ram Das. The imperial forces, while advancing, came to the bank of Mahanadi near Cuttack.<sup>22</sup>

“Daud Khan, finding no chance of gaining victory or even surviving, sent a message to Munim Khan for concluding peace and signified his willingness to part with all kingdom in favour of the emperor excepting a certain portion of it (Orissa) which he would keep for his sustenance and that he was ready to enter into the service of the emperor. Munim Khan as information, asking Daud to come in person to conduct the term of peace. Next day Daud Khan came to Munim Khan. The peace came to be effected between the Mughals and the Pathans. Munim Khan, after giving Orissa on behalf of the emperor to Daud Khan (for his sustenance), incorporated Bihar and Bangal within the (Mughal) empire. He (Munim Khan) having proceeded from Cuttack with his forces, reached Tandah after journeying for 27 days.<sup>23</sup>

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22. The following informations found in Safdar Ali's account are not found in the account of Ram Das, e.g., despatch of Todarmal and Ram Das in pursuit of Daud (the account of Ram Das, however, adds one more name of Kishan Sinh in this list along with Todarmal and Ram Das, specific mention about the date 28th *Ziqadah*=11th March, 1575 A.D. when Todarmal, and Ram Das reached Bhadrak, the arrival of the news to Munim Khan on 15th *Zil-hijjah*=28th March 1575 A.D., which was sent to him by Todarmal, from Bhadrak, the arrival of Munim Khan in palanquin at Bhadrak within fifteen days on the receipt of the news, the specific mention of 5th *Muharram*, A.H. 983=16th April, 1574 A.D. when the Mughal forces reached the bank of Mahanadi near Cuttak.
  23. Safdar Ali's account contains the following information which is not found in the account of Ram Das, e.g. mention about the date 6th *Muharram*=17th April, 1575 A.D. when Daud sent request to Munim Khan for concluding peace, Daud Khan's coming to Munim Khan on 17th *Muharram*=28th April, 1575 A.D., for concluding peace,



the arrival of Munim Khan at Tandah on the 2nd *Safar*, 983 A.H.=13th May, 1575 A.D. However it should be noted that according to Safdar Ali's account since Munim Khan had left Cuttak on 18th *Muharram*=9th April, 1575 A.D., and reached Tandah on 13th May 1575, A.D., it took 15 days. But according to the account of Ram Das it took Munim Khan 27 days to come from Cuttack to Tandah.

**BIHAR, BANGAL AUR ORISSA MEN  
RAJAH TODARMAL KI KARGUZARIAN**



1. "In spite of several months of siege, when Munim Khan failed to conquer the fort of Patnah, emperor Akbar started in a boat (from his capital) on 28th *Rabia-ul-Awwal*<sup>1</sup> and

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1. 28th *Rabia-ul-Awwal* 982 H=18th July, Sunday, 1574 A.D., does not tally with that given in *A.N.* This date seems to be wrong, for it was not possible for emperor Akbar to leave Agrah on 18th July 1574 A.D. and then to reach Patnah on 16th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=5th August 1574 A.D. along with his whole imperial retinue after journeying for 10 days only as recorded in Urdu MS. (Khuda Bakhsh Library). According to *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 122, Akbar started in boat from Agrah for Patnah on 29th *Safar*, 982H=15th June, 1574 A.D. According to *Indian Ephemerides*, Vol. V. by L.D.S. Pillai (1922 ed., Madras), 29th *Safar* 982H. falls on 20th June, 1574 A.D. *T.A.* (Persian Text, 1931 ed., Calcutta), Vol. II, p. 284 says that emperor left Agrah for Patnah on Sunday, the last day of *Safar*, 982H=20th June, 1574 A.D. *T.A.*, tr., vol. II, p. 434 wrongly puts the year 981 H. for *سنتین و ثمانین و تسعمات* which, when properly calculated, gives 982H. *Tarikh-i-Badayuni* (tr. by Lowe) Vol. II. p. 176 (1924 ed., Calcutta) says that emperor left Agrah for Patnah in the latter part of the month of *Safar*, 982H. *A.N.*, therefore, correctly gives 29th *Safar*, 982H=20th June, 1574 A.D. as the day when emperor left Agrah for Patnah, and in this case it took one and a half month for the emperor to come from Agrah to Patnah along with his retinue which seems to be just a reasonable length of time.

reached Patnah on 16th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*.<sup>2</sup> On the very day of his arrival in Patnah, he after inspecting the battle field and ordering for the strengthening of the siege (of the Patnah fort), sent Khan Alam with 3,000 force<sup>3</sup> to Hajipur to defeat Fatahullah Khan<sup>4</sup> there".

2. "On 28th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*<sup>5</sup> on the receipt of the news that

Hence the Urdu MS. has wrongly put 28th *Rabia-ul-Awwal* for 28th or 29th *Scfar*, 982H=19th or 20th July, 1574 A.D.

2. 16th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*, 982H=5th August, 1574 A.D. *A.N.* tr. Vol. III, pp. 135, 136 says that emperor came near Patnah on 15th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*, 982H=4th August, 1574 A.D. ; on 6th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=5th August, 1574 A.D. he surveyed the fort of Patnah on the 17th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=6th August, 1574 A.D. Khan Alam was sent to Hajipur to conquer the fort there. *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, p. 443 says that emperor came to Patnah on 16th *Rabia-ul-Akhir* and sent Khan Alam to Hajipur on 18th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=7th August, 1574 with 3000 horsemen. *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 182, says that emperor came to Patnah on 16th *Rabia-ul-Akhir* 982H. and on the very day sent Khan Alam with 300 force to capture the fort at Hajipur. *Badayuni* here supports the Urdu MS.
3. *Badayuni*, tr. Vol. II, p. 182 and *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, p. 443 here support Urdu MS.
4. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 138, calls him Fath Khan only, *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II. p. 183, and *T.A.* tr., Vol. II, p. 445, name him as Fath Khan Barha.
5. 28th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=17th August, 1574 A.D. *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III, pp. 137-38, says that emperor sent some troops to aid Khan Alam in the fight at Hajipur on Arad 25 Amhrdad=18th *Rabia-us-Sani*, 982H=7th August, 1574 A.D. *T.A.* tr. Vol. II. pp. 444-45 says that emperor sent some troops on 16th *Rabia-us-Sani* to the aid of Khan Alam at Hajipur. *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II. pp. 182-183, says that emperor sent troops on 16th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=5th August 1574 A.D. to aid Khan Alam at Hajipur. The date 18th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*, 982H. as given by *A.N.*, and duly supported by *T.A.*, seems to be correct date when emperor sent forces to aid Khan

Khan Alam had lost a good number of soldiers, the emperor sent Qasim Ali with a force of 2,500 Mughal soldiers, 500 Panwar Kachhawahas and 500 Ujjainiyah Rajputs to aid him. Because of the strong currents of the Ganga and the Gandak, most of the boats carrying the reinforcements failed to reach Hajipur, excepting the three boats which could reach Diarah Raghupur<sup>6</sup> that lay at the distance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 *koss* from Hajipur and which carried 200 to 250 Mughal soldiers of Qasim Ali, 250 to 800 Ujjainiyah Rajputs of Kunwar Ramapat and 150 to 200 Kachhawaha Panwars of Kishan Sinh. Qasim Ali, Kunwar Ramapat and Kishan Sinh left their boats at Diarah Raghupur and proceeded with their men to Hajipur where they succeeded in defeating Pathans, killed their leader Fatahullah Khan and also huge number of Pathan soldiers”.

3. “Than Alam occupied Hajipur, sent the head of Fatahullah Khan and those of his Pathan followers to emperor on 19th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*.<sup>7</sup> The emperor sent those heads to Darya Khan Kararani (as presents) and congratulated<sup>8</sup> Qasim Ali, Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah and Kishan Sinh on their success”.

Alam at Hajipur. The Urdu MS. has, therefore, wrongly written 28th *Rabia-ul-Akhir* for 18th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*, and this becomes all the more confirmed when the Urdu MS. in its subsequent narration under clause 3 records that on 19th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=8th August, 1574 A.D. Khan Alam sent the heads of thousands of Pathans along with that of Fatahullah Khan in boats to Patnah, showing thereby that Hajipur had come under the Mughal possession by that date. The details about the persons and their numbers who were sent to aid Khan Alam at Hajipur as recorded under clause 2 of Urdu MS. are new information which is not to be found anywhere else.

6. This Diarah is still known by Raghupur and is at a distance of 2 *koss* from Hajipur. Half of the Diarah is now under the water of the Ganga ; and the Diarah is now the Waqf property of Imam Bandi Begum of Gulzarbagh.
7. 8th August, 1574 A.D.
8. This is new information not to be found anywhere else.

4. "Seeing the severed heads of the Pathans, Daud lost heart and fled from the fort of Patnah in the night of 20th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*<sup>9</sup> towards Bangal. The Pathans began to fly away from the fort on 21st *Rabia-ul-Akhir*<sup>10</sup> and thousands of them were killed while flying. Patnah came under possession of Akbar".

5. "On 21st *Rabia-ul-Akhir*<sup>11</sup> emperor proceeded in boat to Daryapur<sup>12</sup> from where he decided to go back to Agrah, and therefore, appointed<sup>13</sup> Munim Khan as the Governor of Bihar, Todarmal as its *diwan*, Ram Das Kachhawaha as its *naib diwan*, after duly rewarding them with *khil'ats* and robes of honour. He also entrusted to them the task of conquering the

9. 9th August, 1574 A.D.

10. 10th August, 1574 A.D. ; *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, pp. 445-446 and *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 184, say that when Daud fled from Patnah in the night of 21st *Rabia-us-Sani*=10th August, 1574 A.D., many Pathans in their efforts to fly away perished.

*A.N.*, tr., Vol. III. p. 141, says that when Daud fled from Patnah in the night of 18th *Rabia-us-Sani*=7th August, 1574 A.D., many Pathans perished while attempting to fly away.

11. 10th August, 1574. *T.A.* tr., Vol. II, pp. 445-447, says that the emperor Akbar proceeded from Patnah to the East in pursuit of the Afghans on 22nd *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=11th August, 1574 A.D. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III. pp. 141-42, says that Akbar proceeded in pursuit of the Afghans to the farther east on 19th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*=8th August, 1574 A.D.

12.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *koss* east of Mokamah vide John Mardhall in India (1668-1672), edited by Shafaat Ahmad Khan, pp. 76-77.

13. *Badayuni*, tr. Vol. II, p. 185 ; *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 448, and *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 144, say that Akbar, before starting from Daryapur to the west entrusted the Kingdom of Bangal to Munim Khan. The Urdu MS. therefore, gives new information about these appointments made with specific reference to Bihar, and this is not to be found anywhere else.

subahs of Bangal and Orissa by annihilating Daud Khan, Emperor proceeded to Agrah on 28th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*.<sup>14</sup>

6. "Munim Khan left Daryapur on 2nd *Jamadi-ul-Awwal*<sup>15</sup> and reached Teliagarhi on 15th *Jamadi-ul-Awwal*,<sup>16</sup> which had been already deserted by the Pathans. The fort of Teliagarhi was now occupied by Munim Khan."

7. From Teliagarhi, Munim Khan proceeded towards Tandah on 22nd *Jamadi-ul-Awwal*,<sup>17</sup> along with Todarmal, Ram Das Kachhawaha, and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah. When he was at some distance from Tandah, he came to know Ivit Daud, having left Tandah, was flying to Orissa. Munim Khan, therefore, sent Muhammad Quli Khan to pursue Daud and himself entered into Tandah on 4th *Jamadi-ul-Akhir*.<sup>18</sup>

8. "When Muhammad Quli Khan,<sup>19</sup> while pursuing Daud, advanced farther from Satgaon,<sup>20</sup> he had to retreat after an

14. 17th August, 1574 A.D., *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 448, and *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 185, say that emperor, after staying at Daryapur for six days, proceeded back towards the West, en-route to Agrah. From the Urdu MS., we know that Akbar went to Daryapur on 21st *Rabia-ul-Akhir* = 10th August, 1574 A.D. and then he started for Agrah on 28th *Rabia-ul-Akhir* = 17th August, 1574 A.D. Since he halted at Daryapur for six days i.e. upto 27th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*, he left Daryapur for Agrah on 28th *Rabia-ul-Akhir*.
15. 20th August, 1574 A.D. This is also a new information so far as date is concerned, not to be found elsewhere.
16. 2nd September, 1574 A.D. this is a new information; so far as the date is concerned, not to be found elsewhere.
17. 9th September, 1574 A.D. this is also a new information so far as date is concerned.
18. 21st September, 1574 A.D. this is a new information so far as date is concerned.
19. *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III. p. 169, names him as Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas.
20. A ruined town in Hugli district, situated at Lat. 22° 38' 20" N. Long. 80° 25' 10" E. (vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XII p. 286).



encounter with Mirwandi Khan.<sup>21</sup> Munim Khan, thereupon, sent Diwan Todarmal, Naib Diwan Ram Das Kachhawaha and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah in pursuit of Daud on 25th *Jamadi-ul-Akhir*,<sup>22</sup> deputed Murad Khan<sup>23</sup> towards Fathabad<sup>24</sup> and Bogra<sup>25</sup> and himself attended to the affairs of Tandah."

21. The fight between Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) and Mirwandi Khan which took place in between 22nd *Jamadi-ul-Awwal* and 25th *Jamadi-ul-Akhir* is a new information given by the Urdu MS. which is not to be found anywhere else.
22. 12th October, 1574 A.D. *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 460, and *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 194, say that Todarmal was sent in pursuit of Daud. The Urdu MS. here gives some new information about the date and the names of the persons who accompanied Todarmal while pursuing Daud; these were not mentioned by other known histories of the period.
23. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 169, also names him as Murad Khan.
24. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 169, names it as Fathabad. See *Ain-in-Akbari* (tr. by Jarrett and annotated by Sarkar), Vol. II, p. 144 (1949 ed. Calcutta), where it is mentioned as Sarkar Fathabad.
25. *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III, p. 169 names it as Bagia. In the footnote there it has been identified with Bakla which is a part of the modern district of Bakergunge Pargana Chandradwip belongs to it. *A.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 147, gives the name of Sarkar Bakla. Urdu MS. records it as Bogra (now in Bangladesh) which formed the Central portion of Rajshahi division and is between Mymensingh and Dinajpur (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. III, pp. 24-25). I think that it is Bogra which is nearer to Tandah and where Munim Khan could have sent Murad in order to make the position of Tandah secure. Bakla which is a part of Bakergunj sub-division in Decca division is far distant from Tandah and where the Mughals had not penetrated in 982 H. (1574-1575 A.D.).

9. "Todarmal, Ram Das, Kishan Sinh Panwar and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah while marching from Tandah to Orissa<sup>26</sup>, to Madaran<sup>27</sup> on 15 *Rajab*<sup>28</sup> where they knew that Daud with his 50 to 60 thousand forces has taken up his position at Rankesri<sup>29</sup> with a view to giving a fight to his enemies."<sup>30</sup>

26. *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 194, corroborates Urdu MS., when he says that Todarmal was sent to Orissa in pursuit of Daud.

27. In *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 400 (f.n. 1) De, Quoting E & D, Vol. V. p. 385, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 375, says that Madaran is in Hugli district between Burdwan and Midnapur; that it is now known as Garh Madaran and is mentioned in Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel named *Mirnalini*. I feel that Blochmann has made a forced identification of Madaran with Garh Madaran. Madaran is really in Chittua or Chitwa Parganah, sub-division Ghattal, Distt. Midnapur W. Bengal, (vide Beng. Distt. Gaz., Midnapur. pp. 174-75, 1911 ed., Calcutta).

28. 31st. October, 1574 A.D.

29. The Urdu MS. has Ran Kesri (رن کسری) . In

*Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 195, under f.n. 3, it is recorded that Darin Kasarai (درین کساری) is probably Dar

Rinkasarai, meaning "in Ran Kasarai", and Rin Kasarai is probably corruption of Rin Kesari. E & D, Vol. V. p. 385, has Din Karasi. The confusion between R, D and V, is frequent in Persian MSS. In *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 460, f.n. 2,

De gives the variants of it as Din Kasari (دین کساری)

Rin Kasari (رین کساری) Dihi Kasari (دیہی کساری)

The name does not appear in *Akbarnamah*. In my opinion, it is Ran Kesri, the word Ran meaning fight and Kesri meaning lion; whereas Rin means nothing. So far as its

Todarmal, finding his forces inadequate, halted at Madaran<sup>31</sup> and wrote to Munim Khan for further reinforcement.<sup>31a</sup>

10. "On receiving the message of Rajah Todarmal on 30th *Rajab*,<sup>32</sup> Munim Khan sent Muhammad Quli Khan<sup>33</sup> with a

geographical location is concerned, Urdu MS. says that Todarmal reached Guliyar on 16th *Shaban*=2nd December, 1574 A.D. On 17th *Shaban*=2nd December, 1574 A.D. he proceeded from Guliyar to Ran Kesri though he knew at Guliyar that Daud had already proceeded to Cuttack. This indicates that Guliyar was near to Ran Kesri and that when Mughal forces were about to reach Guliyar, Daud left Ran Kesri in haste and proceeded to Cuttack. Since Guliyar is in Midnapur district as the f.n. on Guliyar in the article would show, Ran Kesri would be also most probably in Midnapur district. *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II. p. 400 and *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 195, says that Ran Kesri was at a distance of 10 *koss* from Guliyar and since Guliyar is in Midnapur district, and most probably in the northern part of it, i.e. either in Ghattal sub-division or in centre of Midnapur district, Ran Kesri which was only at the distance of 10 *koss* from Guliyar would necessarily be in Midnapur district and probably in the southern part of it.

30. *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 460, supports literally the Urdu MS. in the narration of events.

31. *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 460 supports Urdu MS.

31a. *Ibid.*

32. 15th November, 1574 A.D.

33. Muhammad Quli Khan, the leader of the reinforcement troops, was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, a person distinct from Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai who was also included in this reinforcement troops meant for the aid of Todarmal at Madaran, as is evident from *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 460. The reasons for assigning leadership of the reinforcements to Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas are two-fold : Firstly *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III, p. 169 records that since a force which included Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai was sent previously to Satgaon under the leadership of

force to aid the Rajah ; Muhammad Quli Khan joined Todarmal at Madaran on 10th *Shaban*.<sup>34</sup>

11. "Todarmal and Ram Das, now accompanied by Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, marched from Madaran to Ran Kesri on 16th *Shaban*.<sup>35</sup> On reaching Guliyar,<sup>36</sup> they knew

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Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas against Daud, it would follow that the force sent subsequently to aid Todarmal at Madaran and which included both Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai and Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, as *T.A.*, says, must have been despatched under the leadership of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas who had already led the troops on previous occasion. Secondly the Urdu MS. says under clause 12 that Muhammad Quli Khan commanded the right wing of the Mughal forces at the battle of Tukaroi fought later on. How to reconcile these statements ? The fact is that Muhammad Quli Khan who died prior to fighting the battle of Tukaroi was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas as would be evident from *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 461 and *Badayuni*, tr. Vol. II, p. 196. Hence the leader of the force that was sent to aid Todarmal at Madaran prior to the battle of Tukaroi was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas who commanded the right wing of the Mughal force at the battle of Tukaroi subsequently as recorded under clause 15 of Urdu MS., was Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai as Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas had already died earlier.

34. 25th November, 1574 A.D.

35. 1st December, 1574 A.D.

36. Urdu MS. calls it Guliyar *T. A.*, tr. Vol. II, p. 460 and *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II. p. 195 call it trespectively as Gwalior and Gwalyar and in foot-notes of *T.A.*, and *Badayuni* their respective translators, namely De and Lowe, suggest that Gwalior or Gwalyar is probably a mistake for Goalpara. Ed., Vol. V. p. 385 has Gowalpara. As for its geographical location, Urdu MS. under clause 11 says that Todarmal marched from Madaran towards Ran Kesri

that Junaid was marching to join Daud Khan.<sup>37</sup> Todarmal sent Abul Qasim against Junaid.<sup>38</sup> But Abul Qasim was defeated by Junaid and was forced to fly.<sup>39</sup> Therefore Todarmal sent Kishan Sinh Panwar<sup>40</sup> and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah<sup>41</sup> with their Kachhawaha Panwar, and Ujjainiyah followers. Junaid

on 16th *Shaban*=1st December, 1574 and under clause 12 it records that on 17th *Shaban*=2nd December, 1574 A.D. he proceeded from Gulyar towards Ran Kesri. This shows that journey from Madaran to Gulyar was of only one day. Since Madaran is in Ghatal sub-division of district Midnapur, Gulyar would necessarily be in Midnapur district as Ghatal sub-division forms the northern most part of Midnapur district (W. Bangal). The fact that Gulyar would be necessarily in Midnapur district becomes all the more reassured when one finds under clause 12 of the Urdu MS. that it took 6 days (17th *Shaban*-22nd *Shaban*) for Todarmal to journey from Gulyar to Jalesar which is in the north part of Balasore district, now the northernmost frontier district of Orissa. Moreover *Badayuni*. tr., Vol. II, p. 195 says that Gulyar was a dependency of Bangal.

37. *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, pp. 460-61 agrees literally with the narration of Urdu version of Safdar's Persian MS.

38. *Ibid.*

39. These names are new information given by Urdu version MS. and are not to be found elsewhere. The Urdu version MS. says that Todarmal, on knowing the flight of Abul Qasim sent Kishan Sinh Panwar and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah with a force of Kachhawahas, Panwars, and Ujjainiyahs against Junaid, *T.A.* ; tr. Vol. II, p. 461 and *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, pp. 195-96, and *A.N.* tr., Vol. III, p. 170, however, record that on knowing the flight of Abul Qasim, Todarmal himself marched in person against Junaid.

40. *Ibid.*

41. 2nd December, 1574 A.D.

now hide himself in the mountain and his force finally joined Daud Khan by moving in groups of two to four in order to escape notice."

12. "Todarmal, Ram Das Kachhawaha and Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas marched from Gulyar on 17th *Shaban*<sup>41</sup> towards Ran Kesri, and in spite of the fact that Todarmal knew at Gulyar about the flight of Daud to Cuttack, he marched and reached Jalesar<sup>42</sup> on 22nd *Shaban*.<sup>43</sup> Todarmal halted at Jalesar to arrange for clothings of his soldiers. Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas met with his death (there)".

13. "After the death of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, the dissension broke forth in the Mughal forces.<sup>44</sup> To avoid this, Todarmal, accompanied by Ram Das Kachhawaha,<sup>45</sup> Kishan Sinh Panwar<sup>45a</sup> and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah<sup>45b</sup>, marched to Burdwan<sup>46</sup> where he reached on 22nd *Shawwal*<sup>47</sup> and waited there for the reply of Munim Khan".

42. A village in the north-west of the headquarters sub-division of Balasore district i.e. Balasore sub-division. It is situated at 20° 49' N. and 87° 13' E. on the left bank of the Swarnrekha, 12 miles from its mouth (Bengal Distt. Gazetteer, Balasore, 1907 ed., Calcutta).

43. 7th December, 1574 A.D.

44. *T.A.*, tr., Vol., II, p. 461, supports the narration of Urdu MS. *Badayuni* tr., Vol. II, p. 196, hints at it casually.

45. These names and matters relating thereto are new information not to be found elsewhere.

45a. *Ibid.*

45b. *Ibid.*

46. The Headquarter town of Burdwan district (W. Bengal) and is situated at Lat. 23° 14' 10" N. Long. 87° 53' 55" E. (vide *I.G.*, II, pp. 125, 136, 1885 ed., London).

47. 22nd *Shawwal*=4th February, 1575 A.D., being the date when Rajah Todarmal reached Burdwan, is wrong, as under article 14 of Urdu MS. We find Rajah Todarmal marching back from Burdwan to Jalesar on 7th *Ramzan*=21st December, 1574 A.D. on the persuasion of the man who was sent by Munim Khan to the Rajah at Burdwan for

14. "On the 5th *Ramzan*.<sup>48</sup> a man of Todarmal<sup>49</sup> came to Todarmal and persuaded him to go back to Jalesar. Todarmal, Ram Das Kachhawaha and Kishan Sinh Panwar returned towards Jalesar on 7th *Ramzan*,<sup>50</sup> but Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah<sup>51</sup> refused to return and went to Bhojpur along with his followers. Todarmal reached Chitwa<sup>52</sup> on 2nd *Ziqadah*,<sup>53</sup>

the purpose. Since *Ramzan* proceeds *Shawwal* and since Todarmal marched back from Burdwan to Jalesar on 7th *Ramzan* as noted before, the 22nd *Shawwal* as the date for Todarmal to reach Burdwan is basically wrong. In my opinion the date when Todarmal reached Burdwan was 2nd *Ramzan*=16th December 1574 A.D., and the scribe in Urdu MS. has wrongly written 22nd *Shawwal* for 2nd *Ramzan*, adding the numeral before 2nd *Ramzan* and making it 22nd *Shawwal* by putting *Shawwal* for *Ramzan*.

48. 19th December, 1574 A.D.

49. The Urdu version MS. has wrongly written Todarmal for Munim Khan as the preceding narration just above therein quite distinctly and unambiguously shows.

50. 21st December, 1574.

51. The Chronological table of the Ujjainiyah Rajputs and their descendents who have settled in Shahabad district (Bihar) is available in Khuda Bakhsh Library, but it does not give the name of Ramapat Ujjainiyah. It, however, gives one Ram Sinh, the son of Gajpati. One Hindi MS. in Khuda Bakhsh Library, known as *Ram Das Kachhawaha Ki Varta*, shows Ramapat Ujjainiyah to be the son of Maharajah Gajpati Ujjainiyah of Bhojpur in Shahabad district (Bihar) and who accompanied Kishan Sinh to Patnah in the fight against Daud. Hence Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiyah is no other than Ram Sinh, the son of Maharajah Gajpati as found in the Genealogical table.

52. *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, p. 262, calls it Jitura. But De in *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, p. 462, under f.n. 2 says that *A.N.*, has Citua. Chitua which is in Sarkar Madaran and is, Cutwa of Jarret, Vol. II, p. 141. Citua is in Midnapoor district,

after proceeding via Madaran and Midnapore.<sup>54</sup> Munim Khan came from Tandah and joined Todarmal on 5th *Ziqadah*.<sup>55</sup> On 7th *Ziqadah*<sup>56</sup> the Mughal forces, marching from Chitwa, reached Bakhturi,<sup>57</sup> where he knew about the further march of Daud. On 20th *Ziqadah*<sup>58</sup> the Mughal forces reached Tukaroi<sup>59</sup> only to find their path barred by Daud Khan”.

near Ghattal vide Beames J.R., A5, 1896, p. 106. *A.N.* tr., Vol. III, p. 178, has Citua, Blochmann has identified Citua with Bhatigarh in Hugli district vide *JASB*, Vol. 42, p. 223 n. *Badayuni* tr., Vol. II, p. 196, calls it Rhjhorah, but Lowe under f.n. 3 there refers to E & D, Vol. V, p. 386, which names it Jitura. I think it is Citua of Abul Fazl i.e. Chittua or Chitwa parganah in Ghattal sub-division, district, Midnapoor (Bengal District, Gazetteer, Midnapoor, pp. 174-175, ed., 1911, Calcutta).

53. 13th February, 1575.

54. Situated at 22° 25' N. and 87° 19' E. and is at a distance of 80 miles from Calcutta (Bengal District, Gazetteer, Midnapoor, pp. 1 and 208. ed., 1911, Calcutta).

55. 16th February, 1575 A.D.

56. 18th February, 1575 A.D.

57. *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 196, names it Borchin, As for geographical position of Bakhturi, I have to say that since Chitwa from where the Mughal forces started is in Ghattal sub-division (Midnapoor district) and since Tukaroi, the field of battle, also lay in Midnapoor sub-division of District Midnapoor (vide Indian Atlas Sheet, Scale 1 inch to 4 miles, No. 73 N. Midnapoor), the place Bakhturi which was touched by the Mughal forces while marching from Chitwa to Tukaroi would necessarily be in Midnapoor district, somewhere between Citwa and Tukaroi.

58. 3rd March, 1575 A.D. *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 196, gives the date as 20th *Ziqadah* 982H=3rd March, 1575 A.D., *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 463, gives it as 20th *Zil Hijjah*=2nd April, 1575 A.D., *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III, p. 175 gives the date as 20th *Ziqadah*. *A.N.* is to be relied and hence 20th *Ziqadah* 928H



15. "Munim Khan put cannons in front of his forces, and himself commanded the centre;<sup>60</sup> put Todarmal and Ram Das Kachhwaha in the left wing,<sup>61</sup> Muhammad Quli Khan (Toqbai) in the right wing,<sup>62</sup> Khan Alam in the vanguard<sup>63</sup> and appointed Abdullah Khan to aid him (Khan Alam). The Pathans had their elephants in the front row; behind the elephants there lay the cavalry and then infantry. The Pathans started marching from the direction of the mountains, and the Mughal cannons began to emit fire on them. Thousands of soldiers, elephants and horses were killed. Gujar Khan Pathan<sup>64</sup> then advanced, fell upon the Mughal forces and killed Khan Alam,

=3rd March, 1575 A.D. is the date for the battle of Tukaroi.

59. Blochmann has correctly identified Tukaroi with Mughalmari on the road from Midnapoor to Jalesar. R.D. Banerjee in *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 2 (1931 ed., Calcutta), says that Tukaroi lies two miles from Mughalmari on the southern bank of the Suvaranrekha (*Ain. tr.*, Vol. I, pp. 375-76) Mughalmari lies in the district headquarters of Midnapoor i.e. in Midnapocr sub-division (vide Ind. Atlas Sheet, scale 1 inch to 4 miles, No. 73N, Midnapoor). Mughalmari is village in the Midnapoor sub-division situated about two miles north of Dantan (Bengal District Gazetteer, Midnapoor, p. 212, ed., 1911, Calcutta).
60. *A.N. tr.*, Vol. III, p. 175; and *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 463, confirm the Urdu version MS.
61. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 175 and *T.A.*; tr., Vol. II, p. 463, confirm the Urdu MS.
62. Muhammad Quli Khan manning the right wing was Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai vide *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III, p. 175. See also f.n. 33.
63. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 175. and *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 463 confirm the Urdu MS.
64. Gujar Khan was the trusted general of Daud Khan and he had fought against the Mughals at Patnah in 982 H. vide *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 446.

the leader of Mughal vanguard. Gujar Khan then wounded with a spear the chest of Munim Khan which caused the latter to fall from the back of the horse and Munim was about to be slain by Gujar Khan, when Kishan Sinh Panwar<sup>65</sup> came to the scene and killed Gujar Khan with his sword. The Pathans now took to their heels and huge booty fell into the hands of the Mughals, including horses and elephants".

16. "Munim Khan sent Todarmal and Ram Das Kachhawa in pursuit of Daud. But Daud succeeded in fleeing to Cuttack.<sup>66</sup> When Todarmal and Ram Das reached Bhadrak<sup>67</sup> on 28th Ziqadah<sup>68</sup>, they knew there that Daud had reached Cuttack where he had come to be joined by many Pathans who had succeeded in fleeing from the battle of Tukaroi".

65. Urdu MS. says that Gujar Khan was killed by Kishan Sinh Panwar, *A.N.*, *T.A.*, and *Badayuni* only say that Gujar Khan was killed by an arrow of destiny and they are thus not clear on the point as Urdu MS.

66. *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 466, and *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, pp. 198-99, confirm the narration of Urdu MS. with this difference that whereas Urdu MS. says that Daud went to Cuttack, *T.A.* and *Badayuni* say that Daud escaped to Katak-Bararas. De in *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, under f.n. 2, p. 466, says that Atak (Attock) and Katak (Cuttack) being the extremities of the empire had the word Banaras affixed to them. Lowe in *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II. p. 198 under f.n. 5 says that Katak Banaras is in the centre of Orissa and is commonly known as Cuttock.

67. *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III, p. 183, calls the name of the place as Bhadrak where Todarmal had come and where he knew that Daud Khan fled to Cuttack. *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, p. 466, and *Badayuni*, tr. Vol. II, p. 199, name the place as Kalkal Ghati where Todarmal came and where he knew about the flight of Daud to Cuttack. Bhadrak is the headquarters town of the sub-division of the same name, situated at 21° 3'N. and 86° 31'E. on the bank of Salandi at 43rd mile of Trunk Road below Balasore (Beng. Distt. Gaz., Balasore, pp. 194-195, 1907 ed., Calcutta).

68. 11th March, 1575 A.D.

17. "Todarmal and Ram Das, to give rest to soldiers, halted at Bhadrak where they waited for the reply of Munim Khan also".

18. "When Munim Khan received the messenger of Todarmal on 15th *Zil Hijja*<sup>69</sup> and came to know that Daud Khan had reached Cuttack where he had been joined by other Pathans and that Todarmal and Ram Das had halted at Bhadrak, he (Munim Khan) atonce, in spite of his wound, went in Palki<sup>70</sup> to Bhadrak where he reached within 15 days and from there he proceeded to Cuttack along with Todarmal and ultimately encamped on the bank of the Mahanadi near Cuttack on the 5th *Muharram*, 983 H.<sup>71</sup>

19. "Daud, finding himself in a helpless situation, sent a message for peace to Munim Khan on 6th *Muharram*".<sup>72</sup>

20. "Munim Khan, after consulting Todarmal and Ram Das, asked Daud to turn up in person to concluded peace. Daud came to Munim Khan on 17th *Muharram*<sup>73</sup> and after being duly received, the peace was concluded; Daud was given Orissa<sup>74</sup> for his sustenance while Bihar and Bangal came to

69. 28th March, 1575 A.D.

70. *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, p. 467, and f.n. 1, and *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III, p. 184, mention about the going of Munim Khan in Palki to Bhadrak.

71. 16th April, 1575 A.D., this is a new information given by Urdu MS. in point of date and is not to be found elsewhere.

72. 17th April, 1575 A.D., this is a new information not to be found elsewhere.

73. 28th April, 1575 A.D. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 185, gives 1st *Muharram*, 983 H. as the date for concluding peace with Daud. I, however, take 17th *Muharram*, 983 H., as the correct date for concluding peace with Daud, as the Urdu MS. here is more detailed about different dates through which the negotiation for peace underwent and they fit in with the ultimate date of 17th *Muharram* when peace was finally concluded between Munim Khan and Daud.

74. *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 449, supports Urdu MS. about ceding

form the part of the Mughal empire. The *Khutbah* was read in emperor's name."

21. "On the 18th *Muharram*,<sup>75</sup> Munim Khan marched from Cuttack and reached Tandah on 2nd *Safar*, 983 H."<sup>76</sup>

22. "Munim Khan now made Tandah, his capital. Cholera broke out there which cost many lives and Munim Khan himself died on 17th *Rajab*, 983 H."<sup>77</sup>

23. "After the death of Munim Khan, Husain Quli Khan<sup>78</sup> was appointed as governor, whereas Todarmal<sup>79</sup> and Ram

of Orissa to Daud. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 185 says that some estates in Orissa were given in fief to Daud. H. Beveridge f.n. 1., p. 185, says that according to *T.A.*, *E & D*, Vol. V, p. 30 and Stewart, p. 161, the whole of Orissa was given to Daud. Perhaps the phrase "B'azi Mahal" used in text has the technical sense of miscellaneous revenues.

75. 29th April, 1575 A.D.

76. 13th May, 1575 A.D., *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, p. 469, and *Badayuni*, tr. Vol. II, p. 200, say that Munim Khan came from Cuttack and entered into Tandah on 10th *Safar*, 983H = 21st May, 1575 A.D.

77. 22nd October, 1575 A.D., *T.A.*, tr., Vol. II, pp. 478-79 and *Badayuni* tr., Vol. II, p. 200, say that Munim Khan left Tandah and made the deserted town of Gaur his capital. The cholera broke out in Gaur and it cost many lives there and Munim Khan himself died on 11th *Rajab*, 983H = 16th October, 1575 A.D., *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 226 says that Munim Khan died on *Khur*, 15th *Aban*, Divine month = 23rd October, 1575 A.D. and under f.n. 1 there H. Beveridge says that "the date given in Bayazid Biyat's Memories is the night of Monday, 18th *Rajab*, 983 H = 23th October, 1575 A.D. 15th *Aban* should be 25th or 26th October.

78. *T.A.*, tr. Vol. II, p. 480 and *Badayuni*, tr., Vol. II, p. 222, support Urdu MS. in appointment of Husain Quli Khan, entitled Khan Jahan as governor after the death of Munim Khan. Husain Quli Khan's title was Khan Jahan (vide Index p. 452 of *Badayuni*, tr.).

79. The fact that Todarmal and Ram Das continued as *diwan*

Das<sup>79a</sup> continued to hold their previous offices. Husain Quli Khan came to Patnah on 27th *Ziqadah*<sup>80</sup> 983 H. When he reached Bhagalpur,<sup>81</sup> he met with many 'umarahs and amirs who were forced to leave Bangal and they now entered into his service."

24. "Husain Quli Khan proceeded further, drove out Pathans from Garhi<sup>82</sup> and Tandah,<sup>83</sup> but had to meet with difficult situation at Akmahal (Rajmahal) where, after losing thousands of his followers, he retreated ultimately."

25. "When Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Todarmal and Ram Das Kachhawaha joined Husain Quli Khan, the latter marched to Akmahal<sup>84</sup> (Rajmahal). The battle of Akmahal was fought

and *naib-diwan* of Bihar respectively under the governorship of Khan Jahan is a new information, not to be found elsewhere.

79a. *Ibid.*

80. 27th February, 1576 A.D. This is a new information not to be found elsewhere.

81. Bhagalpur is the head-quarters town of the division of that name in the state of Bihar.

82. Garhi means Teliagarhi, a narrow pass in Bhagalpur Division, to the farther east of Sahibganj.

83. Tandah stood a few miles to the south-west of Gaur in the region now known as the Maldah district (vide Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, p. 129 f.n. 1, Oxford, 1919 ed.).

84. In *A.N. tr.*, Vol. III, p. 230, under f.n. 2, H. Beveridge says that perhaps AK is the Turkish word and the name Ak Mahal means white House. Blochmann made it Ag Mahal. When Man Sinh chose it for his residence it was named Rajmahal. *Badayuni*, text Vol. II. p. 229 (Calcutta,

1965 ed.) calls it  Ak Mahal, but *Badayuni*,

tr., Vol. II, p. 235 wrote it Ag Mahal. *E & D*, Vol. V. p. 397, has the village of Ak, but a note says "Ak Mahal or Aga Mahal. Afterwards called Raj Mahal by Rajah Man Sinh". The ancient name was Rajah Griha". I do not know whether there is any authority for the statement that

on 15th *Rabi-ul-Awwal*,<sup>85</sup> 984 H. in which Junaid Kararani, the uncle of Daud was wounded, and Kalapahar, the commander of Daud Khan, after working havoc upon the Mughal forces, was wounded<sup>86</sup> ultimately by Kishan Sinh (Panwar) and was forced to fly away. The Pathans in general now took to flight. Daud Khan was caught : his head was cut-off and was sent to emperor Akbar.”

26. “After the battle of Rajmahal, Husain Quli Khan sent Todarmal and Ram Das to the emperor. Todarmal and Ram

the ancient name was Rajah Griha. Rajah Griha is grammatically incorrect. The well-known Rajah Griha was the ancient Capital of Magadha and is in Bihar sub-division of Patnah district, now known as Rajgir.

85. 12th June, 1576 A.D., *T.A.* and *Badayuni* are silent on the date of the battle of Raj Mahal. *A.N.*, tr., Vol. III, p. 253, gives the date of the battle of Raj Mahal as 15th *Rabi-us-Sani* 984 H.=12th July, 1576 A.D. The date of 15th *Rabi-us-Sani* as given by *A.N.*, for the battle of Raj Mahal is a correct one, as this receives corroboration by the narration in *A.N.*, tr. Vol. III, pp. 248-249, where it is recorded that emperor started for Bangal on 25th *Rabi-us-Sani*=22nd July, 1576 A.D. and had reached Bhira, a dependency of Agrah in one day's march only, when Saiyid Abdullah Khan came from Bangal in only 11 days and met the emperor on that very day i.e. 22nd July, 1576 A.D., communicating the news of victory over Daud. Saiyid Abdullah Khan covered the long distance from Bangal to Agrah in 11 days, when computed from the day of victory of Raj Mahal. This would put the battle of Raj Mahal on 15th *Rabi-us-Sani*=12th July, 1576 A.D. Hence the Urdu MS. has wrongly recorded 15th *Rabi-ul-Awwal* for 15th *Rabi-us-Sani*.
86. The fact that Kishan Sinh Panwar wounded so affectively Kalapahar in the battle at Raj Mahal that the latter had to fly away and with flight there came the general flight of the Pathans, is a new information not to be found anywhere else.

Das served the provinces of Bihar, Bangal and Orissa for 24 months<sup>87</sup> i.e. from *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, 972 H. to *Rabi-ul-Awwal*<sup>88</sup> 984 H., and started for Agrah on 2nd *Rabi-ul-Akhir*.”<sup>88</sup>

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87. The period of 24 months with effect from *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, 982 H., to *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, 984 H., as recorded by Urdu MS. is wrong. Under f.n. 4 of the document record, I have shown that emperor Akbar got into boat at Agrah on 28th or 29th *Safar*, 982 H. and sailed out for Patnah that very day and not on 28th *Rabi-ul-Awwal* as recorded by Urdu MS. Under f.n. 85 of the document, battle of Raj Mahal was fought on 15th *Rabi-us-Sani*, 984H.=12th July, 1576 A.D and not on 15th *Rabi-ul-Awwal* 984H.=12th June, 1576 A.D. as recorded in Urdu MS. Hence the total length of the period of service, rendered by Todarmal and Ram Das extended from 28th or 29th *Safar*, 982 H.=19th or 20th June, 1574 A.D. to 15th *Rabi-us-Sani* 984 H.=12th July, 1576 A.D. i.e. nearly 26 months and not 24 months as recorded by Urdu MS.
88. Since the battle of Raj Mahal was fought on 15th *Rabi-ul-Akhir*, 984 H.=12th July, 1576 A.D. as shown under f.n. 85 of the document, Todarmal and Ram Das would not have set out for Agrah on 2nd *Rabi-ul-Akhir* (29 June, 1576 A.D.) as recorded by Urdu MS. This would be 22nd *Rabi-ul-Akhir*=19th July, 1576 A.D. or 2nd *Jamadi-ul-Awwal*, 984 H.=28th July, 1576 A.D.

**P A T A L - P O T A**  
(Biographical Account of Ram Das Kachhawaha)





1. "The descendants of Patal, the son of king Udai Karan<sup>1</sup> of Amber, are known as Patal Pota. Patal got his means of sustenance at Bawule.<sup>2</sup> He, therefore left Amber<sup>3</sup> and settled down at Bawule. Patal's son was known as Kanghal. Kanghal had a son, known as Bhoj. Bhoj had four sons, namely, Ram, Kishan Sinh, Rup Sinh, Jayat Sinh. Ram had three sons, namely, Lakha, Ratan and Uda. Uda had a son whose name was Patar. Patar had a son and his name was Ram Das".<sup>4</sup>

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1. King Udai Karan who ruled Amber was succeeded by his third son Baloji in *Samvat* 1445 or 1389 A.D. See Tod, "*Annals of Rajasthan*", Vol. I, p. 113. 1829 ed. London.
  2. Bawule is most probably Bawul which is straight to the north of Ulwar and is just to the south of Rewaree and Rajesko. Bawule is situated in between Long. 76° and 77° N. and Lat. 28° and 29° E. See "The complete Atlas of modern Classical and Celestial Maps". Vol. I, published in 1860, London, under Map No. 104 (India IX), showing maps of Delhi, Amber, parts of Sindhia's dominions, Bundelkhand, Rajput and Jat States, etc.
  3. The ancient but now decayed capital of Jaipur State, Rajputana, about 5 miles north-east of the present capital of Jaipur town. It is situated at Long. 75° 52' 50" E.; Lat. 26° 58' 45" N. See Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, pp. 228-229, 1885 ed., London.
  4. The Hindi document under study names the father of Ram Das as Patar. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, 1952 ed., Calcutta, puts the name of the father of Ram Das Kachhawaha as Urdat.

2. Ram Das left Bawule and settled down at Newata.<sup>5</sup> He could not find the grant of lands meant for his sustenance (at Newata) to be sufficient enough to square with his needs. He, therefore, took loan on the grants of land meant for his sustenance and gave the money (thus raised) to his wife (Thakurani) who was instructed to take proper care of his mother, sister and children, and he then left his home (in search of suitable appointments elsewhere). Ram Das met Rai Sal in *Samvat* 1625.<sup>6</sup> When the latter was on his way to Agrah, while returning from Bhatner, after establishing the (Mughal) emperor's authority on Khandla and Rewasa".<sup>7</sup>

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5. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 587, 1952 ed., Calcutta, records that Ram Das lived at Luni. According to *Akbarnamah*. Persian text, Vol. III, p. 65, 1887 ed., Calcutta, the home of Ram Das was at Newata. H. Beveridge in his English translation of *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 91, f.n. 2, 1939 ed. Calcutta, has written that "the Lucknow ed. (of *Akbarnamah*) has Hima. Perhaps the place is Luni or Bubni, see Blochmann 398, no. 1 and *A.N.* text 326, line 9. If so, it is in Ranthambhor". In my opinion since the Persian text of *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, on p. 65, 1887 ed., Calcutta, and the present Hindi document under discussion have named as Newata, this is more to be preferred and accepted.
6. *Samvat* 1625 begins on the 13th February, 1568 A.D. and ends on the 3rd March, 1569. Vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.).
7. Tod in his work "*Annals of Rajasthan*" Vol. II, pp. 390-91, 1832 ed., London, has recorded a slightly different version about the affairs of Bhatner and Khandle (and) Rewasa. Accordingly to this Hindi MS. which is under study, Rai Sal successfully carried on the Bhatner campaign as a result of which he succeeded in establishing the hold of the Mughal emperor (Akbar) on Khandle (and) Rewasa. According to Tod, Rai Sal, in recognition of his feats of valour in the fight against the Afghans, was given the title

3. "After being properly tutored in the arts of court-estimates, he (Ram Das) was given a horse (by Rai Sal) and was taken into market of ahadis.<sup>8</sup> The emperor (Akbar) came to inspect the prospective ahadis. Being pleased with the manners of Ram Das, the emperor enquired of the man who had brought Ram Das into the market. Ram Das made a *Kurnish*<sup>9</sup>

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of Rai Sal Darbari and was granted the district of Rewasa and Khasauli which then belonged to Chundail Rajputs. But scarcely had he settled his new possessions, when he was recalled to the court to take part in an expedition against Bhatner. Fresh services obtained new favours and he received a grant of Khandle and Oadipur, then belonging to the Nurbhan Rajputs, who disdained to pay allegiance to the empire and gave themselves up to the unlicensed rapine. Immediately after the occupation of Khandle, Rai Sal obtained the possession of Oadipur. Bhatner is a town and fort in Hanumangarh district, on the north of Bikaner State in Rajputana, on the left bank of Ghagar river, now dried up. Bhatner is situated at Long. 74° 20' 45" E., Lat. 29° 34' 55" N. (vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 378, 1885 ed., London). Khandle or Khundaila which has been spelled as Gundaila in the map is situated in Bikaner State and is in between Long. 74° and 75° N. and Lat. 29° and 40° E. vide Map of Rajasthan in the "*Annals of Rajasthan*" by Tod.

8. Ahadis meant a body of special servants. They were also called *Sawaran-i-khas*. See "Ahadis" in the Index of *Akbarnamah*. Vol. III, p. 7, tr., by H. Beveridge, 1939 ed., Calcutta. According to *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 587, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, 1952 ed., Calcutta. Ram Das was a servant of Rai Sal Darbari and through him became enlisted into the service of the emperor Akbar. Thus it differs from Tod's version which stated that Ram Das held the title of Rai Sal Darbari (see f.n. 7 supra).
9. *Kurnish* was a kind of obsequence made only to the Mughal emperor. It was one of the prerogatives of the emperor

before the emperor, and after making obeisance with proper respects, he represented that it was Rai Sal who had brought him (Ram Das) into the market. On the enquiry made by the emperor, Rai Sal represented that Ram Das belonged to his community which was known as Udawat Patal-Pota<sup>10</sup> and made a request that he (Ram Das) might be admitted into the cadre of royal ahadis. The emperor appointed Ram Das as one of the ahadis."

4. "Being pleased with the services of Ram Das, the emperor appointed him as his *Khas-bardar-ahadi*.<sup>11</sup> Ram Das, on receiving his appointment as emperor's personal ahadi, got the opportunity to keep himself in constant attendance on the emperor. Ram Das discharged his duties with all seriousness and vigilance. After having been graced with the patronage by the emperor, he (Ram Das) was appointed to the charge of 200 *Khasah Sawar*<sup>12</sup> in the capacity as its *Jama'atdar*."<sup>13</sup>

5. "Ram Das with spear in his hand, and duly accompanied by his followers, always kept himself in attendance (on the emperor). Whenever the emperor passed by, he saw him (Ram Das) on duty. The emperor became very much pleased to see this steadfastness and promptness of Ram Das."<sup>14</sup> Ram Das had

and none else except the emperor had the privilege of having the *kurnish*.

10. On "Khyat of Patal Pota" in foreword, it has been shown that Patal Pota means the descendants of Patal. Since Patal was the son of king Udai Karan who ruled at Amber, the descendants of Patal came to be known as Udawat Patal-pota.
11. *Khas-bardar-ahadi* meant personal special servant.
12. *Khasah-Sawar* here meant the personal horsemen of the emperor.
13. *Jama'atdar* meant incharge of the unit.
14. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 588, 1952 ed., Calcutta, records that Ram Das always lived in the Guard Room (*Pesh-Khanah*) and on duty there. Emperor Akbar had no fixed time for entering or leaving the *zanamah*, but Ram Das was always

a strong passion for heroic songs and used to mutter them from time to time. When the emperor came to know of it, he sometimes made him (Ram Das) sing them. In this way the emperor's likings for him (Ram Das) grew stronger. The emperor now always kept him (Ram Das) by his side in his tours."

6. "In *Samvat* 1629<sup>15</sup> Ram Das accompanied the emperor as the latter's personal and trusted servant during his tour of Gujrat and kept himself in constant service on all occasion.<sup>16</sup> In this journey to he (Ram Das) never forgot to pay visit to Rai Sal whom he always attended. While paying visit to Shekhawat<sup>17</sup> (i.e. Rai Sal), he earned acquaintance with Kishan Sinh and it soon ripened into bond of deep love and intimacy."

in attendance with 200 Rajputs, carrying lances in their hands, See Blochmann, *Ain* Vol. 1, 2nd ed., pp. 539 and 540 where in Ram Das was recorded to be the commander of the Rajput Guard at the fort.

15. 1629 *Samvat* begins on the 29th February, 1572 A.D., and ends on the 16th February, 1573 A.D. This year saw the first expedition and conquest of Gujrat by emperor Akbar who undertook it in the 17th year of his reign (*A.N.* tr., Vol. III, pp. 48 and 55), *Akbarnamah* Vol. II, tr., by H. Beveridge, p. 538, 1912 ed., Calcutta, specifically puts the date of the march of emperor Akbar from Fathpur to Gujrat as 4th July, 1572 A.D.
16. That Ram Das accompanied emperor Akbar during the latter's first expedition to Gujrat in the 17th year of the reign is a new fact and that it has not been mentioned in *Akbarnamah*; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Tarikh-i-Badayuni*.
17. It is stated that one of Rai Sal's ancestors, named Mokul, had no son. A *darvesh* came to him and having compassion on him gave him the glad tidings of (the coming) of a son. After a time as a result of the prayers of that holy man the son was born. He was called Shaikh and hence his descendants came to be known as Sheikawat. Hence Rai Sal was called Shekhawat. The name of the Darvesh was Shaikh Burhan. See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr., by H.

7. "One day Ram Das represented before Rai Sal that his sister, namely, Nagina Bai had come of age to be married and it had been lying due for the last several years. But since he was in the whirl-pool of poverty, he could not solemnise her marriage. Now he (Ram Das) became a man of means by his (Rai Sal's) kindness. The only difficulty now left was to find out an able bridegroom. Kishan Sinh was Rajput of Chandrawat Panwar group.<sup>18</sup> His (Kishan Sinh's) ancestors had their relationship with the Bhadorias,<sup>19</sup> Nathavatas and Jhalas.<sup>20</sup> They were in no way inferior to any of the Rajputs. His (Kishan Sinh's) two brothers had laid down their lives in the siege of Chittor,<sup>21</sup> whereas his grand-father had died in the battle of Khanua.<sup>22</sup>

Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 564, 1952 ed., Calcutta; and Tod's "*Annals of Rajasthan*," Vol II, pp. 388-89, 1832 ed., London.

18. Panwar is an apabhramsha of Pramara and since Chandravati is one of the many capitals founded by Pramaras of Chandravati came to be known as Chandrawat Pramaras or Panwars. Among the thirty-five sachae of the Paramars, Vehil was eminent, the princes of which line appear to have been lords of Chandravati at the foot of Aravalli. See Tod's "*Annals of Rajasthan*," Vol. 1, pp. 91, 93, 1829 ed., London.
19. Bhadoria is one out of the twenty-four sachae of the Chauhans. See Tod's "*Annals of Rajasthan*," Vol. 1, p. 97, 1829 ed., London.
20. The Jhalas, a Rajput tribe, inhabit the Saurashtra peninsula. This tribe has given its name to one of the largest divisions of Saurashtra, Jhalawar, which possesses several towns of importance. Of these Bankaner, Hulwud and Dangdra are the principal ones. See Tod's "*Annals of Rajasthan*," Vol. I, p. 113, 1829 ed., London.
21. The siege of Chittor which was undertaken by the Mughal army of emperor Akbar in the 12th year of the reign against Maharana. See *Tababat-i-Akbari*, tr., by De, Vol. II, pp. 341-347, 1936 ed., Calcutta.
22. The battle of Khanua was fought in 1527 A.D. between emperor Babur and Rana Sanga; See "Memories of Babur", tr., by A.S. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 558.

Kishan Sinh himself, while making efforts to free his father, was wounded in the valley of Chittor-Udaipur. Daulat Sinh<sup>23</sup> was killed. It was a fact that Kishan Sinh had not inherited a rich patrimony from his ancestors. Whatever little he had, he left them. The source of livelihood for the true Rajputs lay in his horse and sword. And Kishan Sinh was quite well-up in the possession of these two virtues and had every fibre of a Rajput. Along with it, he (Kishan Sinh) enjoyed his (Rai Sal's) patronage and favour. By his (Rai Sal's) grace, he (Ram Das) was also now quite well-off. If (Rai Sal) gave his approval, the marriage of Nagina Bai might be solemnised with him (Kishan Sinh). Shekhawat (Rai Sal) was exceedingly glad to receive the proposal of Ram Das and he ordered for the marriage to be arranged."

8. "When the imperial forces, while returning from Gujrat, came near the village (Newata) of Ram Das, he (Ram Das) begged the emperor of leave for going home.<sup>23a</sup> He (Ram Das) asked Kishan Sinh to accompany him. After receiving permission from Shekhawat (Rai Sal), he (Kishan Sinh) proceeded with Ram Das for the latter's home.<sup>24</sup> After some days Ram Das presented to Kishan Sinh the fruit of cocoanut on behalf of his sister Nagina Kunwar (i) (as a mark of fixing marriage with Kishan Sinh). He (Kishan Sinh), after consultation with his Rajput friends and relations, accepted the offer of the cocoanut. The marriage was solemnised on the auspicious occasion with all pomps and splendour. The hand of his sister Nagina Kunwar (-i) was given in marriage to Kishan Sinh. He (Ram Das) amazed all by giving beautiful presents and dowry. All got their dues in amply measures. Living there for some days more after the marriage was over, Ram Das left Kishan Sinh and his Rajput friends and relations at Newata, while he himself proceeded to Agrah."

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23. The context of the writing shows that Daulat Sinh was the father of Kishan Sinh.

23a. This could have taken place while emperor Akbar was coming back from his expedition of Gujrat.

24. The house of Ram Das was at Newata.



9. "As soon as Ram Das reached Agrah, the news of the rebellion in Gujrat was received. The emperor (Akbar), accompanied by his picked and chosen amirs, mansabdars and *khashbardar* proceeded from Agrah towards Gujrat on *Bhado Badi* 11, *Samvat* 1630.<sup>25</sup> Ram Das also accompanied the emperor.<sup>26</sup> After punishing the rebels in Gujrat, when the emperor on his return journey was passing by the village home of Ram Das, the latter requested the emperor to grace his house with his presence. The emperor accepted his request to visit his home."
10. "The emperor came to the house of Ram Das"<sup>27</sup> on

25. 11th *Badi Bhado*. 1630 *Samvat* falls, on 23rd August, 1573 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemerics* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.). *Akbarnamah*, tr., by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 62) 1939 ed., Calcutta, confirms this date of the Hindi document as being the day when the emperor undertook the march for Gujrat for the second time.
26. This proved to be the second expedition of emperor Akbar to Gujrat and it was undertaken in the 18th year of his reign, *Akbarnamah*. Vol. III, p. 69, tr., by H. Beveridge, 1939 ed., Calcutta, records that Ram Das Kachhawaha was one of the officers who in the second campaign of Gujrat, undertaken in the year 1573 A.D., had accompanied the emperor.
27. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 91, 1939 ed., Calcutta, confirms the fact that "the emperor Akbar halted for a little in the commencement of the evening at the village of Ncwata, where is the house of Ram Das Kachhawaha who performed the duties of service towards him. After mid-night, he again set out on his swift horse and arrived in the evening at Hans Mahal. He did not halt there, but went on that night and the next day....." *Akbarnamah*, however, does not give the exact date, when the emperor halted at the house of Ram Das. The Hindi document gives this date as *Asin Sudi Panchmi*, the Friday, 1630 *Samvat* which falls on the 1st October A.D. 1573, the day however being Thursday and not Friday according to the reckoning of the *Indian Ephemerics* by L.D.S. Pillai

*Asin Sudi Panchmi*, the Friday, *Samvat* 1630.<sup>28</sup> Like an amir, Ram Das accorded to the emperor a grand reception. He presented before the emperor his two sons, namely, Nayan Das and Dilip,<sup>29</sup> along with Kishan Sinh the Dolha Rajah i.e., the bridegroom by virtue of being the husband of Nagina Bai. After the entertainment was over, the emperor along with his forces proceeded from Newata after a lapse of two *pahars* in the night<sup>30</sup> for Agrah. On receiving the emperor's permission,

(1400-1599 A.D.). This date as recorded in the Hindi document, however, fits in with the chronology of the events as given in *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 91, 1939 ed., Calcutta.

28. *Asin Sudi Panchmi*, the Friday, 1630 *Samvat* falls on the 1st October, 1573 A.D., the day being Thursday and not Friday according to the reckoning of the *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599).
29. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, tr., by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, p. 589, 1952 ed. Calcutta, has wrongly recorded the names of the two sons of Raja Ram Das Kachhawa as Naman (or Taman) Das and Dalap Narain. The Hindi manuscript under study has correctly recorded their names as Nayan Das and Dilip. But since the dots are often not given in the Persian manuscript, it would be written as which may be read as Naman or Taman Das. Similarly the word Dilip would be written in Persian as which may be read as Dilip, Dalap or Dalip and for this the absence Zabar, Zer and Pesh in Persian writing is responsible. Hence this mistake in *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* which has recorded the names as Naman (Taman) Das and Dalap. The Hindi manuscript has correctly written their names as Nayan Das and Dilip.
30. The foot-note No. 27 clearly shows that emperor Akbar halted for a little in the begin ing of the evening at the house of Ram Das and that the emperor set out after mid-night. As such *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge,

Ram Das stayed behind. After living at his house for some days, Ram Das along with Kishan Sinh proceeded to Agrah. The emperor granted a mansab of 500<sup>31</sup> to Ram Das. Ram Das began to prosper by leaps and bounds in the service of emperor henceforth”.

11. “After sometime the emperor appointed Ram Das as *Naib* (deputy) to Rajah Todarmal and sent him to Bihar.<sup>32</sup>

Vol. III, p. 91, 1939 ed., Calcutta, fully corroborates the writing of the Hindi document which records that the emperor along with his forces, after the entertainment was over at the house of Ram Das at Newata, proceeded after the lapse of two *pahars* in the night. It should be noted that 4 *pahars* constitute the mid-night.

31. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 587, 1952 ed., Calcutta, has also recorded that “by rapid promotions he (Ram Das Kachhawaha) rose to the rank of 500.....”.
32. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 587, 1952 ed., Calcutta, has recorded that in the 18th year when Rajah Todarmal was deputed to assist Khan-i-Khanan, and to reorganise the army which had been sent to conquer Bihar, Ram Das was appointed as his deputy for civil affairs. It should be noted that Rajah Todarmal's appointment was made in the 18th and not in the 17th year as stated by Blochmann *Ain I*, 92nd ed., p. 71. See *Akbarnamah*, text, Vol. III, p. 71, 1887 ed., Calcutta; Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 98, 1939 ed., Calcutta. The appointment of Ram Das as the deputy of Rajah Todarmal is not mentioned in *Akbarnamah*, See “A Urdu manuscript in Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patnah” by Brahmadeya Prasad Ambashthya vide proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Trivandrum Session, 1958, pp. 307 and 309 wherein the mention has been made about the appointment of Ram Das Kachhawaha as *naib diwan* and Todarmal as *diwan* in the province of Bihar. These appointments were made on 10th August, 1574 A.D.

Todarmal became very much pleased with his services and recommended his case to the emperor”.

12. “In the month of *Asin* in the year *Samvat* 1641,<sup>33</sup> the news of the defeat of Shahbaz Khan at the hands of ‘Isa Khan in the area of Bhati<sup>34</sup> and his flight to Tandah<sup>35</sup> reached the emperor.<sup>36</sup> The report further contained that Shahbaz Khan, after staying at Sherpur for some days, made preparations and wanted to proceed against the rebels. But his associates refused

33. The month of *Asin*, *Samvat* 1641, begins on the 10th September, 1584 A.D. and ends on the 9th October, 1584 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemerics* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.).
34. Bhati is the name given by the Muhammadan historians to the coastal strips of Sundarban from Hijli to Meghna. Long 88° to 91° 14' E; Lat. 20° 30' to 22° 30' N. The name means “Low-lands overflowed by tide”, and is still applied to Sunderban tracts of Khulna and Bakargunj Districts of Bangal. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. II, p. 377, 1885 ed., London. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 735, 1952 ed., Calcutta, records that Bhati is a low lying country to the south of Tandah and is nearly 400 *koss* long and almost 300 *koss* broad. As Bangal is a higher level tract than this area, the latter is known as Bhati.
35. Tandah was the capital of Bangal in the time of Daud Khan Kararani who was the contemporary of emperor Akbar. The river Ganga divides itself into two branches at Tandah. One goes to the mart of Satgaon and ends in the Orissa. The other goes towards Mahmudabad, Fathabad, Sonargaon and Chittagong. See *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 153, 1939 ed., Calcutta; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr. by De, Vol. II, p. 453, 1936 ed., Calcutta; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 736, 1952 ed., Calcutta.
36. See *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, pp. 657-660, 1939 ed., Calcutta; See *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr. by De, Vol. II, p. 561, 1936 ed., Calcutta.

to co-operate with him.<sup>37</sup> The instruction was, therefore, issued to the zamindars of Bangal and Bihar<sup>38</sup> to co-operate with the imperial officers in making a drive against Isa Khan. At first, Peshrau Khan and Khawajah Fatahullah Khan were sent on the expedition.<sup>39</sup> Subsequently Ram Das Kachhawaha along with Mojahid Khan Kamboh<sup>40</sup> was deputed. At the time of march, Ram Das was instructed to be very practical in solving the problem."

13. "Shahbaz Khan, after making full preparations for the assault, proceeded to Bhati with his followers in the month of *Magh*, *Samvat* 1641.<sup>41</sup> On reaching the river Yamuna,<sup>42</sup> he

37. See *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 660, 1939 ed., Calcutta; See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad. Vol. II, p. 736, 1952 ed., Calcutta.

38. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 660, 1939 ed., Calcutta. See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 736, 1952 ed., Calcutta.

39. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 660, 1939 ed., Calcutta and *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I, p. 537, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta.

40. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 660, 1939 ed., Calcutta.

41. The month of *Magh*, *Samvat* 1641 begins on the 6th January, 1585 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.).

42. Yamuna : it is a deltaic distributory of the Ganga, or rather the name given to a part of the waters of the Ichhamati during a section of its course. The Jamuna enters the Twenty-four Parganas at Beliani from Nadiya district and after a south-eastern route through the 24 Parganas winds amid the forest and jungles of Sundarbans until it empties itself into the Raimangal, a short distance from where that estuary merges into the sea, in Long. 89°13' E. and Lat. 21° 47' N. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. VII, p. 135, 1886 ed., London. H. Beveridge in his translation of *Akbarnamah*, Vol. II, p. 673,

came to know that rebel Masum Khan and others had collected together at Sherpur.<sup>43</sup> On the very receipt of the news, Shahbaz Khan wanted to cross the river Yamuna. But his accompanying officers showed their disinclination to do so.<sup>44</sup> Ram Das Kachhawaha<sup>45</sup> came out to address them and pointed out that personal likes and dislikes were of no avail in the imperial services and that all, whether big or small, were imperial servants and their duty was to carry out the royal command and in executing the imperial order one had to remain regardless of the likelihood of attending danger and exposure of one's life to risk while marching onwards. In discharging one's duty wavering amounted to disobedience. As such, everybody, willy-nilly, had to cross the river. There was no other alternative left but to go to the other side of the river. Being helpless, all had to cross the river."

14. "On the receipt of the news of the crossing of the river by Shahbaz Khan along with his followers, the rebels took to their heels.<sup>46</sup> The imperial forces followed them. The rebels

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under f.n. 1, 1939 ed., Calcutta, has wrongly written "Jamuna is apparently the Ganga and not the Janai, or what is now known as the Brahmaputra." See *I.G.* VII, p. 134, old ed.

43. H. Beveridge in his translation of *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 672, f.n. 2, 1939 ed., Calcutta, identifies Sherpur with Sherpur Ferringhi in Bikrampur, the Serrepore of Fitch and quotes J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 230 note, and Taylor's Topography of Dacca, p. 104, wherein Taylor says that Serripur was destroyed by the Kirtinasa. Apparently, according to H. Beveridge, it is the Ferringhibazar of Rennel. E. Idarkpur. See *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 673, 1839 ed., Calcutta for the gathering together of rebel Masum Khan and others at Sherpur.
44. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 673, 1939 ed., Calcutta.
45. *Ibid.* *Akbarnamah* adds the name of Khawjagi Fatahullah with the name of Ram Das who addressed the officers and persuaded them to cross the Jamuna.
46. *Ibid.*

left behind their heavy equipments and proceeded on their backward journey. The imperial officers captured some of the rebels with their equipments. Shahbaz Khan wanted to proceed in person in pursuit of the rebels.<sup>47</sup> But after due consultation with all, Ram Das Kachhawaha and Khwajah Fatahullah Khan along with Said Khan, Wazir Khan, Sahadat Khan, Meh Khan and others were despatched in pursuit of the rebels.<sup>48</sup> The rebels fled further away, on the receipt of the news of the march of Ram Das and others. The whole of the country went out of the control of the rebels and passed into the imperial possession.<sup>49</sup> On the return of Ram Das from Bangal, the emperor increased his rank and augmented his mansab by 1000."

15. "On the 13th *Phalgun*, *Samvat* 1640,<sup>50</sup> some persons who brought to the emperor the news from Mirza Khan<sup>51</sup>

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 673, 1939 ed., Calcutta, besides giving the names of Said Khan and Wazir who went along with Ram Das Kachhawaha and Khwajah Fatahullah in pursuit of the rebel Masum Khan and others, records the names of other persons also who accompanied Ram Das and they were Sadiq Khan, Muhibb Ali Khan, Saiyid Abdullah Khan and other. The Hindi manuscripts adds two more names and they are Sa'adat Khan and Meh Khan who accompanied Ram Das Kachhawaha while pursuing the rebel Masum Khan and his followers.

49. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 673, 1939 ed., Calcutta.

50. 13th *Phalgun*, *Samvat* 1640, may be either 13th *Badi Phalgun* or 13th *Sudi Phalgun*. If it is 13th *Badi Phalgun*, it would be 30th January, 1584 A.D. If it is the 13th *Sudi Phalgun*, it would be the 13th February, 1584 A.D. See *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.).

51. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr. by De, Vol. II, pp. 572 and 573, 1936 ed., Calcutta, corroborates the Hindi manuscripts in giving the name of Mirza Khan who sent the news to the emperor about the defeat of Muzaffar Gujrati.

about the defeat of Muzaffar Gujrati, included one, named Bija Devda. The latter was making efforts for procuring the Pattah of Sirohi.<sup>52</sup> He spent full three years in frequenting the doors of the amirs in his pious efforts to have his representation submitted before the emperor. But his objective was not achieved. At last he came to Ram Das in *Samvat* 1644.<sup>53</sup> Bija used to go to Ram Das, but he never divulged out to him (Ram Das) his objectives. Ram Das knew his purposes, but he never wanted to take initiative in opening the talk. On seeing the growing influence of Ram Das with the emperor, many amirs tried to earn their acquaintances with Ram Das. Many of the Rajput sardars claimed to enjoy his love and affection on the ground that they were old relations of his. Some of them even came out with proposal of offering him (Ram Das) the cocoanut as a gesture of contracting fresh marriage between him (Ram Das) and their feminine kith and kin, at a time when the son of Ram Das had already been given in marriage years back. In spite of it, many were prepared to give the cocoanut to Ram Das as an offer for marriage. The refusal of Ram Das was constrand by them to be his act of miserliness on the ground that the Musulmans and the Rajputs held the privilege of marrying for a number of times. Some of the sardars conveyed their respective wishes to get their daughters married with Shambhu Sinh, the sister's son of Ram Das. But Ram Das always evaded them. One day Bija Devda came as usual to Ram Das and offered the proposal

52. Sirohi : Formerly a native town in Rajputana. Agency under the Government of India, lying between Lat. 24° 22' and 25° 16' N. and between Long. 72° 22' and 73° 18' E. Sirohi is bounded on the north by Marwar or Jodhpur, on the east by Mewar or Udaipur, on the south by Palanpur, and the Mahi Kantha States of Edar and Danta and on the west by Jodhpur. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. XIII, p. 1, 1887 ed., London.
53. *Samvat* 1644 begins on the 13th February, 1587 A.D. and ends on the 3rd March, 1588 A.D. Vide the *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.).



of his daughter to be given in marriage to Shambhu Sinh. The daughter of Bija was the grand-daughter of Chandra Sen Rathor<sup>54</sup> of Jodhpur. Ram Das accepted the proposal, and Bija sent the cocoanut fruit for it. Shambhu Sinh, in accordance with the wishes of his father and maternal uncle, accepted the offer of the cocoanut. Ram Das caused the marriage of Shambhu Sinh to be performed on the auspicious occasion 'with all the pomp and splendour.'

16. "In *Samvat* 1646<sup>55</sup> the emperor went to Kashmir on his

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54. The Rathor genealogies trace their padigree to the Cush, the second son of Ram consequently they would be Sooryabansi. But by the bards of this race they are denied this honour; they are held to be the descendants of Casyapa, of the Solar race, by the daughter of a Dyte (Titan). The progeny of Hirna Casyapa is accordingly stigmatized as being of demoniac origin. It is rather singular that they should have succeeded to the Lunar race of Cushnaba, descendants of Ujamida, the founder of Kanouj. Indeed some genealogists maintain the Rathors to be of Cuseka race. The pristin locale of the Rathors is Gadhipur or Kanouj in the 5th century A.D. See Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 88, 1829 ed., London.
55. *Samvat* 1646 begins on the 21st February, 1589 A.D. and ends on the 11th March, 1590 A.D. vide the *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S., Pillai (1400-1599 A.D.). For Akbar's journey to Kashmir in 1589 A.D., see *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, pp. 816 and 817 etc, 1939 ed., Calcutta, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr. by De, vol. II, pp. 623-624, 1936 ed., Calcutta and Badayuni's *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh* tr. by Lowe, Vol. II, p. 381, 1924 ed., Calcutta. It should be noticed that *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh* put the date of the starting of Emperor Akbar's journey for Kashmir as 22nd *Jamadi-us-Sani*, 997A.<sup>H</sup> = 28th April, 1589 A.D.; *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 817, 1939 ed., Calcutta, p. 819, records that the journey from the crossing of the Ravi to the pass of Bhimbhar began on the 28th April, 1589 A.D. and ended on the 19th May, 1589 A.D.

pleasure trip. In accordance with the usual practice, hundreds of Amirs and nobles accompanied the emperor. Ram Das was also one of them. After crossing the river Ravi,<sup>56</sup> the emperor left Rajah Bhagwan (t) Das, Rajah Todarmal and Qulij Khan at Lahore<sup>57</sup> and he himself proceeded towards Kashmir. On reaching Bhimbhar,<sup>58</sup> one morning the emperor along with his

56. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 817, 1939, ed., Calcutta, records that the emperor Akbar crossed the river Ravi on the eve of the 28th April, 1589 A.D. after the passing of 2 hours and 48 minutes.
57. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 817, 1939 ed., Calcutta and *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, pp. 535, 954, 1952 ed., Calcutta, support the version of the Hindi manuscript here.
58. Bhimbhar is a small town in Lat. 32° 58' Long. 74° 8'. It is 150 miles from Srinagar by the Pir Panjal route. The starting point from the Punjab for going to Kashmir was Bhimbhar. This route played an important part in the time of the Sultans (*J.A.S.B.*, LXIV. 376). Influenced by the consideration of its natural advantages, Akbar also after the conquest of the valley, chose it for the construction of his imperial road which was to connect Lahore with Kashmir. This route was open for seven months in the year. See "*Kashmir under the Sultans*" by Mohibul Hasan, pp. 23-24, 1959 ed., Calcutta. This Hindi document does not give the details of the route from Lahore to Bhimbhar which has been fortunately supplied by *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 817-819, 1939 ed., Calcutta. According to *Akbarnamah*, after crossing the river Ravi, he encamped near the Sarai of Madhu Sinh which was one *koss* and 12 bamboos i.e. 132 yds. from Lahore. It should be noted that one pole or bamboo constituted above 11 yards and 400 bamboos constituted a *koss*. Then the emperor halted at Shahadara after travelling 2 *koss* and 50 poles (i.e. 550 yds.). Shahadara is 6 miles from Lahore and is on the west bank of the river Ravi. Shahadara contains the tombs of Jahangir and Nur

Jahan. The emperor, after traversing 4 *koss* and 41 poles i.e. 451 yds. halted at Jora. According to H. Beveridge under f.n. 2, p. 818, Vol. III of his tr. of *Akbarnamah*." Jora is Cora or Cauri in I.O.M.S. 326; but perhaps the *ra* is a case ending and the name is Jan or Can. It may be the Juhair-pul of the Indian Atlas, which seems to correspond to Shah Daulapul on the Deeg river, 22 miles north of Lahore. See *the India of Aurangzeb* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar p. 1." Then again, the emperor, after travelling  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *koss* and 72 poles i.e. 792 yds, encamped near Aminabad where the Rajah of Radaur came to see him. Radaur is in the Ambala district, 40 miles south east of Ambala, vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India* XI, 341, old ed., and Rieu's Persian Catalogue, I, 320 li. Radaur is not mentioned in the new ed., of I.G. Then again after traversing  $4\frac{1}{4}$  *koss*, the emperor encamped in the territory of Sitarama. H. Beveridge says that in I.O.M.S. 236, it is written as Sahasram. After moving  $4\frac{3}{4}$  *koss* and 35 poles (i.e. 385 yds.), the Emperor halted at Talwandi which, according to H. Beveridge under f.n. 15, p. 818 of Vol. III of his translation of *Akbarnamah* has been referred to in *Ain-i-Akbari* tr. by Jarrett, II, 320. Then after travelling 6 *koss* and 41 poles i.e. 451 yds., the Emperor passed by Sudhira and encamped on the bank of Chenab. According to H. Beveridge f.n. 6, p. 818, Vol. III of his translation of *Akbarnamah*, Sudhira has been referred to in *Ain-i-Akbari* tr. by Jarrett II, p. 321. In crossing the river Chenab, the emperor traversed  $10\frac{1}{4}$  *koss* and 51 poles i.e. 561 yds. After travelling 4 *koss* and 5 bamboos i.e. 55 yds., the emperor reached Gunacor, a dependancy of Sialkot. H. Beveridge under f.n. 3 on p. 818, Vol. III of his translation of *Akbarnamah* gives the variant of Gunacor as Kolajar, but says that Gunacor is right. It lies south-east of Jalindhar and is the place where Bairam was defeated." The emperor, after marching  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *koss* 51 bamboos i.e., 561 yds, encamped at Dikri, a dependency of Sialkot. Then again after covering the distance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *koss* 60 bamboos i.e. 660 yds, the emperor encamped at Jaipur Kheri, a village of

chosen followers went out to enjoy the climbing of the hills.<sup>59</sup> After converging half the distance on the hill,<sup>60</sup> the emperor came back to entrust Sultan Murad with the charge of haram<sup>61</sup> and posted Farid Beg to the mouth of the valley.<sup>62</sup> The emperor then returned, duly accompanied by Ram Das Kachhawaha, Khan-i-Khanan, Jagannath and others.<sup>63</sup> At the mid-day the

Bhimbhar. H. Beveridge, under f.n. 1, p. 819, Vol. III of his translation of *Akbarnamah*, has identified it with Jeypore of the maps, which is south of Bhimbhar. These are the details of the journey of Emperor Akbar in going from Lahore to Bhimbhar.

59. These hills were none else than the pass of Bhimbhar which Kashmiris called Kajiwar whereas other hillmen call it Adi Dat. H. Beveridge, under f.n. 2 and f.n. 3, p. 819, Vol. III, of his translation of *Akbarnamah*, has recorded that "the text has Kajiwar, but variant adar seems right. It is the Kashmir gatr of Tiefenthaler. I. 79. See Elliot, Vol. V, p. 457, N. 3 Adi Dat is the Adidak of the maps.
60. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 819, 1939 ed., Calcutta, records that "the emperor enjoyed on the top of it (the hill or the pass of Bhimbhar), whereas the Hindi document says that emperor went only half the distance on the hill before he returned.
61. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 819, 1939 ed., Calcutta.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 819, 1939 ed., Calcutta besides giving the names of Ram Das Kachhawaha, *Khan-i-Khanan* and Jagannath who accompanied emperor Akbar in his journey and which has been mentioned in the Hindi manuscript, has also recorded the names of Zain Koka, Azdu-d-Daula, Hakim Abul Fath, Mir Sharif Amuli, Qazi Hasan, Nur Qulij, and Abul Fazl, the author of *Akbarnamah*, who was moving with the emperor in this journey.

emperor took rest beneath a tree."<sup>64</sup>

17. "Next day the emperor crossed this valley of Badoo<sup>65</sup> where from he went to Rajori<sup>66</sup> via Ghazi-Kot<sup>67</sup> and from

64. See *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 819, 1939 ed. Calcutta.

65. See *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 821, 1939 ed., Calcutta, records that "the emperor traversed the defile between the Serai Jogi and Naushera, which is called Ghati Baddu". Under f.n. 2 on p. 821 there, H. Beveridge records that "Baddu is the name of king Zain-ul Abdin, and is apparently the Kashmiri Bar Shah. See Drews' *Jummoo* 17. It means 'the great king'. Text Jogi, but the variant Cingiz is supported by I.O. and by Tiefenthler, I. 87. It is the Chingas Serai of Bates and is about half way between Naushehra and Rajauri. It is on the right bank of Tavi."

66. Rajauri : The Pir Panjal pass (11,400 ft.) gives access to the valleys of the two Tohis of Rajauri and Punch, from which direct routes of communication led to the central and western Punjab Hira-pura was the entrance station for those reaching Kashmir from Rajauri and the neighbouring places, and a point of departure for those leaving Kashmir for Rajauri. To the south-west of the district of Bhadravah was the important hill state of Rajauri comprising the valleys drained by Tohi and its tributaries. On the south-west of Rajauri lay the kingdom of Punch. Srivara in *Jaina Rajtarangni* which has been translated by J.C. Dutta into English as *kings of Kashmir*, on p. 251 calls the Pir Panjal Pass as Panchaladeva. Pir Panchal being the nearest Muslim equivalent for Deva. See *Kalhauns' Raj Tarangani*, tr. by Stein, Vol. II, pp. 397-398. See "*Kashmir under the Sultan*" by Mohibul Hasan. Calcutta ed., 1959, p. 19 and p. 23. It should be noticed here that Bhimbhar is situated at the mouth of a valley which leads on to Rajauri via Naushera and this is shown clearly in Johnston's general Atlas on the map of India under No. 33 and in the complete Atlas of Modern Classi-

thence he proceeded onwards through the Pir-Panjal<sup>68</sup> pass. Before undertaking the march, he (the emperor) deputed the heir apparent<sup>68a</sup> (*Wali-ahd* or *Jahangir*) to bring forth the haram and Sultan<sup>69</sup> Khusrau. After two days of march,<sup>70</sup> the

cal and Celestial Maps, Vol. I, published in 1860, London showing the map of the Punjab with part of Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh, etc. under No. 107. But these two maps do not name the valley as the valley of Badu, although it has been so recorded in the Hindi manuscript under study. No mention has been made of the place known as Ghazi-Kot in these two maps, although the manuscript clearly bears two maps, although the manuscript clearly bears it out. To me, it appears that the valley at whose southern mouth Bhimbhar is situated was then known as the valley of Badu and that Ghazi-Kot is somewhere in the valley and is situated in between Bhimbhar and Rajauri.

67. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 821, 1939 ed., Calcutta, says that the ravine of Ghazi-Kot is situated in between Naushera and Serai Chingiz. Serai Chingiz is about half way between Naushera and Rajauri as noted above under f.n. 65.
68. See f.n. 66 for Pir Panjal Pass.
- 68a. *Wali-ahd*, as written in the Hindi document and translated by me as heir-apparent, has been clearly mentioned as the eldest Prince, i.e. Jahangir in *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 821, 1939 ed., Calcutta.
69. See *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 821, 1939 ed. Calcutta.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 821-822 where it has written that after two days H.M. went on from Rajauri and marched  $3\frac{1}{4}$  *koss* and 19 pole i.e. 209 yds. This shows that after stay of two days at Rajauri, His Majesty marched from Rajauri and marched  $3\frac{1}{4}$  *koss* and 209 yds., and then encamped near Laha. The Hindi manuscript, however, records that after two days of march, the emperor put up his encampment at Laha.

royal encampment came to be pitched at Laha.<sup>71</sup> From there the royal camp reached Bara-Mulla<sup>72</sup> via Dera Ratan-Pan-

71. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 822, 1939 ed., Calcutta, records that Laha was a dependency of Rajauri.
72. Baramulla is a town situated on the Jhelum in Kashmir in Lat. 34° 13', Long. 74° 23', 34 miles west of Srinagar. Mohibul Hasan in his book "*Kashmir under the Sultans*" on p. 18 has wrongly recorded Baramulla as situated at Long. 84° 23'. Owing to its position as the river port of Kashmir, this is a place of some importance. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, which is crossed at the east end of the town by an excellent bridge. The name of Baramulla is derived from the ancient of Varshmula which stood on the right bank of the river along which the old route down the Jhelum used to run. Opposite, on the bank where the present Baramulla stands, was the town of Hushkapura, founded by Havishka, the Kushan ruler, who succeeded Kanishka. The site of the ancient Hushkapura is about two miles to the south-east of modern Baramulla. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Kashmir and Jammu, p. 113, 1909 ed., Calcutta. From Rajauri to Baramulla the route passes through Dhanimsal, Thana, Bahramgala, Serai, Shupuyon, Ramu, Nil Nag, Pasigau, Bela Har, Kahag, Firuzpur, Patan vide "*The Complete Atlas*" Vol. I. The map makes no mention of Laha as recorded in the manuscript; it is however, dependency of Rajauri as seen under f.n. 73 in the article. But the very fact that it took for the emperor only two days of march from Rajauri to reach Laha as seen in this Hindi document and from thence the emperor reached Baramulla via Ratan Panjal clearly shows on the map no. 167 of "*The Complete Atlas*" Vol. I, that Laha is situated somewhere in between Rajauri and Bahramgala and most probably near Bahramgala and it becomes all the more irresistible when one cares to note that Bahramgala which is a small village

jal.<sup>72a</sup> When the royal camp proceeded further from Pir-Panjal and came to Dhai<sup>73</sup>, the emperor became anxious on account of the non-receipt of any news about the haram.

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it Lat. 33° 36', Long. 74° 27' on the road between Bhimbhar and Kashmir is situated in a deep gorge at the foot of Ratan Pir Pass (i.e. Ratan Panjal Pass or Dera Ratan Panjal). The old name as Bahramgala is Bhairavagala. See "*Kashmir under the Sultans*" by Dr. Mohibul Hasan, p. 109, f.n. 6, 1959 ed., Calcutta. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 822, f.n. 2, 1939 ed., Calcutta, has recorded that Ratan Panjal Pass is five miles north-east of Thana and is the Ratan Pir of Stein II, 398 and the Ruttana Pir of Bates. It is 8200 ft. high. Bahramgala is the old Bhairavagali. The text has Bairamkala.

72a. See f.n. 72.

73. The Hindi manuscript names the place as Dhai. *Akbarnamah*, tr., by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 823, has named it as Dund, a village, near the pass of Nati Barri and under f.n. 2 on p. 823. H. Beveridge has given the variant of Nati as Tari in I.O. MS. 236 and has further recorded that although Dund is not marked in the maps, it must be near Aliabad Sarai. Dhai as recorded in the Hindi manuscript and which has been written as Dund in *Akbarnamah*, may be identified with Dyn in "*The Complete Atlas*" Vol. I, under Map No. 107 and that Dyn is farther away from Baramulla and Pir Panjal Pass in the north-eastern direction and is further north from Sopur. Dhai as written in Hindi script in the manuscript, may be Dhai or Dyn and the lack of Anashuar on the word "Dhai" in the Hindi manuscript may be due to scribe's negligence. The Hindi manuscript says that on reaching Dhai the emperor got anxious on account of having no news of the haram and next day the emperor, after despatching Khan-i-Khanan from Barari towards the prince, marched farther and halted at Depur. This shows that Barari and Depur were situated at a distance of one day's march only from Dhai and were therefore not far from the last named place.



Persons who were familiar with the region were posted right from Bhim-Bar to Hirapura<sup>74</sup> and they were instructed to keep camp equipment ready at every place for the haram. Next day the emperor, after despatching Khan-i-Khanan from Barari<sup>75</sup> towards the prince (*Wali-ahd*), proceeded onwards and halted at Depura.<sup>76</sup>

18 "When the emperor reached Depura, the prince (*Wali-ahd*) turned up there alone and represented that the haram was

74. Hirapur (—a) is a village 7 miles south-west of Shupiyan, situated in Lat. 33° 41', Long. 74° 46'. It is called Shuro-pura by Srivara. See "*Kashmir under the Sultans*" by Dr. Mohibul Hasan, p. 23, f.n. 6; See also *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 823, 1939 ed., Calcutta, for the posting of experienced men from Bhimbhar to Hirapur with daily necessities of life for the comforts of the haram. H. Beveridge, under f.n. 2 on p. 824 has hinted at the fact that Hirapur, when properly written, would be Hirapur, the ancient Surapura, vide Stein and Bates.

75. See *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 824, 1939 ed., Calcutta; H. Beveridge, under f.n. 1 on p. 824, in his translation of *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, has given the variant of Nari Barari as Tari Barari and has further observed that although the name of Nati Barari or Tari Barari is not marked the maps, the *Iqbalnamah* has only the word Barari. H. Beveridge has further written under f.n. 1 on p. 824, Vol. III, in his translation of *Akbarnamah* that the highest point on the route from Bhimbhar to Srinagar is the Pir Panjal which is 11,400 feet high, vide Stein Vol. II, p. 394. The proper spelling is Pir Pantsal.

76. The Hindi manuscript names the place as Depur. *Akbar-namah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 824, 1939 ed., Calcutta, names the place as Dwar. H. Beveridge, under f.n. 3 on p. 824 there, says that probably this is the Degrama of Stein's map and J.A.S.B. paper p. 186. The name seems to be Depur in I.O.M.S. 236. See Stein Vol. II, p. 472. Degram is about 1½ mile west of Supiyan. See f.n. 73.

left behind at Naushera<sup>77</sup> on account of the route being very bad.<sup>78</sup> The emperor got displeased.<sup>79</sup> Ram Das Kachhawaha, accompanied by Jagannath, Naqib Khan and some ahadis proceeded to Naushera."<sup>80</sup>

19. "Before the march was to be undertaken, the sky was proving terrifying. The devoted servants tried to dissuade the emperor from marching; but the emperor turned down their advice and marched on. Ram Das, completely regardless of the storms, the thunders of the cloud and lightning and the accompanying heavy torrential downpour which had led to the rolling of the stoneboulder and had made the routes slippery, kept himself all along by the side of the emperor. On reaching

77. Naushera lies on the Pir Panjal route to Kashmir and is distant about 122 miles south-west of Srinagar. It is situated in Lat. 33° 10', Long. 74° 18' vide "*Kashmir under the Sultans*" by Dr. Mohibul Hasan, p. 112, f.n. 1.
78. *Akbarnamah*, by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 824, 1939 ed., Calcutta.
79. *Ibid*, pp. 824-825.
80. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 825, 1939 ed., Calcutta, records that the emperor proceeded in person to bring the ladies of the haram, after being accompanied by Jagannath, Ram Das, Naqib Khan and some ahadis. The Hindi manuscript says that it was Ram Das Kachhawaha who, being accompanied by Jagannath, Naqib Khan and some ahadis proceeded to Naushera (as if to bring the ladies of the haram as the context of the writing therein shows). But this is wrong as under clause 19 of the Hindi manuscript it has been clearly written that the emperor himself was proceeding to bring the ladies of the haram and that Ram Das was accompanying the emperor all through despite the rains. Moreover it was not probable for Ram Das to be deputed to bring the royal members of the haram without being accompanied by the some members of the royal blood. Hence the statement of *Akbarnamah* is correct here.

the destination,<sup>81</sup> the emperor rewarded Ram Das with the palace of Banapur<sup>82</sup> and increased his mansab by 2000."

20. "After sometime, Ram Das received the news of the death of his son, namely, Dilip Narain.<sup>83</sup> The emperor, after consoling Ram Das, granted him leave to go home, Ram Das proceeded from Kashmir towards his home with a broken heart."

21. "Nayan Das, the son of Ram Das, began to plunder the royal territory in *Samvat* 1660.<sup>84</sup> The emperor for sometime paid no heed to the troubles caused by Nayan Das. At this, Nayan Das became all the more emboldened in creating mischief. Ram Das was very much displeased with this disobeying attitude of his son and he himself made request to the emperor

81. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 825, 1939 ed., Calcutta, corroborates the Hindi manuscript that the emperor undertook the march in the midst of the rains. The Hindi manuscript makes no mention of the name of the place where emperor went and simply says that on reaching the destination he rewarded Ram Das with the palace of Banapur in recognition of the later accompanying the emperor all through under the rains. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 825, 1939 ed., Calcutta, names the place of destination where emperor went as Hirapur, a name seen above under f.n. 74.

82. Banapur is in modern Central Province and is to the north and slightly west of Deogarh and is to the west and north of Chindwara and is situated at Long. 79° and Lat. 23°, roughly speaking, vide Keith Johnston's *General Atlas* under map No. 33 (India).

83. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad Vol. II, p. 589, 1952 ed., Calcutta, records that Dilip Narain who was an exact counterpart of his father (Ram Das Kachhawaha) and had risen to the rank of an amir died at the height of his youth.

84. *Samvat* 1660 begins on 16th February, 1603 A.D., and ends on the 5th March, 1604 A.D.

to send some forces to arrest Nayan Das.<sup>85</sup> Shah Quli Khan<sup>85a</sup> was deputed for the purpose. Nayan Das was killed while fighting with Shah Quli Khan. The emperor himself came to the house of Ram Das to console him."<sup>85b</sup>

22. "On 7th *Badi Kartik*,<sup>86</sup> *Samvat* 1662, the emperor became indisposed. At first he was down with fever. Subsequently he started passing loose motions. Hakim Ali Khan took the treatment but the emperor's ailment continued to aggravate.<sup>87</sup> The emperor became bed-ridden and was awaiting death. Azam Khan and Rajah Man Sinh were then wielding great influence in the Court. They wanted to enthrone Khusrau who happened to be the son-in-law of Azam Khan and sister's son (of Rajah Man Sinh) respectively.<sup>88</sup> They were moving heaven and earth to achieve their objective. They did their

85. See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad Vol. II, p. 589, 1952 ed., Calcutta.

85a. See f.n. 85.

85b. See f.n. 85.

86. 7th *Badi Kartik*, *Samvat* 1662=24th September, 1605 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600—1799 A.D.). It should be noted here that the detailed account in the Hindi manuscript on manouevring of Rajah Man Sinh and Azam Khan in their effort to place Khusrau on the throne against his father prince Salim (Jahangir) and the counter-measures taken by Ram Das Kachhawaha, Said Khan Barha, Malik Khair, Shekhawat Sal, Mirza-ul-Mulk, Murtuza Khan, Mutamid Khan, Farid Khan and Kishan Sinh in support of the cause of prince Salim (Jahangir) at the time of the emperor Akbar's death and their ultimate triumph are completely new information, not known before.

87. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 1259, 1939 ed., Calcutta.

88. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I, p. 327 and p. 523, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta, and Vol. II, p. 588. 1952 ed., Calcutta.

best to persuade the emperor to announce the name of his successor, but they did not meet with success. Hence they tried to enlist the support of the nobilities for achieving their ends."

23. "On seeing Said Khan Barha, Mirza Sharif, Muta'mid Khan Farid Khan,<sup>89</sup> Shekhawat Rai Sal, Ram Das Kachhawaha and other nobles sitting in a room and who had come to enquire of health of the emperor, Azam Khan went to them and pointed out that the emperor had been fast losing his health. It was difficult to say as to what was to happen. In the absence of the declaration of successor, there was the likelihood of the outbreak of trouble. The trusted servants of the State owed a duty to ponder over the question and find out a solution."

24. "The character of Prince Salim had been well-known to all (added Azam Khan) and the intention of the emperor in this regard was also known to all. It was our duty to carry out his wish. Hence Sultan Khusrau ought to be declared the successor in accordance with the wishes of the emperor. It was only by his sitting on the throne that the soul of the emperor was to feel happy and that peace was to reign supreme in the empire."

25. "At this statement of Azam Khan, Said Khan Barha got furious and asked Azam Khan as to what he had been talking and if he had lost his senses. It was not only wrong but was also against the established practices and traditions of the chaghatais to place Sultan Khusrau on the throne at a time, when his father, prince Salim, was present. We will never allow it to be done."

26. "Having given out his mind, Said Khan Barha along with Malik Khair left the place and went out. Other nobles followed the suit and went away. The room became empty and there was silence all around. Azam Khan and Man Sinh were getting sorry".

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89. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. 1, p. 327, 1911. 14 ed., Calcutta, recorded that Farid joined the prince Salim (Jahangir).

27. "At the time of going out of the room, Said Khan Barha hinted to his trusted friend Ram Das Kachhawaha to establish his control on the royal treasury, Ram Das, after coming out of the room, despatched accordingly Kishan Sinh Panwar and other Rajputs to lay hold on the treasury and he himself went to attend to other business. Kishan Sinh, in accordance with the direction of Ram Das, established his hold on the treasury and kept himself in readiness there with his Rajput followers."<sup>90</sup>

28. "Azam Khan and Man Sinh conspired to arrest prince Salim, when the latter was to come to see the emperor. But Mirza-ul-Mulk informed the prince (Salim) of it and defeated their objective. The prince (Salim) returned to his place<sup>91</sup> and became busy for retiring to Allahabad".

29. "When the prince (Salim) did not come to enquire of the health of the emperor, Azam Khan and Man Sinh became apprehensive about the leakage of their programme. But being undaunted, they proceeded with their programme. They thought it prudent to establish their hold on the treasury first before doing anything else and they instantaneously proceeded towards the treasury. While going to the treasury, they directed their men to follow them. On reaching there, they found Kishan Sinh with the Rajput followers of Ram Das in readiness there and they then asked Kishan Sinh to hand over the

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90. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 588, 1952 ed., Calcutta.

91. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I, P. 327, 1911-14 ed., Calcutta, also hints at the apprehensions of prince Salim about the plot made against him by his ill-wishers and as a result of which the Prince kept himself confined in his house. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 327, however records that prince Salim was advised by his father i.e. emperor Akbar to keep himself in his house because of the aforesaid apprehension. The Hindi manuscript, however, records the name of *Mirza-ul-Mulk* who informed prince Salim of the attempts to be made by Azam Khan and Man Sinh to arrest him (Prince Salim) when the latter was to come to see the emperor.

key. But he refused to hand over the key without receiving the permission of Ram Das. They then went in search of Ram Das. Finding him (Ram Das) not available at his home, they began to wait for him".

30. "Murtuza Khan came out of the fort and went straight-way from his house. He found it essential to enlist the support of the Said of Barha in order to defeat the machinations of Azam Khan and Man Sinh. He was just trying to make them alert, when the news of the arrival of Said Khan Barha came to him. Said Khan Barha made compliments on his arrival and asked him (Murtaza Khan) if he had made up his mind to sit idly at home. Murtuza Khan in return replied that he had a mind to show the strength of his hands and weapons in his vigorous efforts to place prince Salim on the throne. After making consultations for sometime, these two 'Said Khan Barha and Murtuza Khan' persons sent Mutamid Khan to the prince (Salim), requesting him keep patience and not to loose courage and assured him of their loyalty with their solemn pledge that so long as they were alive, nobody could even dare to raise their head against his interest, not to speak of turning the scale against him".

31. "After despatching Mutamid Khan to the prince (Salim), these two persons (Said Khan Barha and Murtuza Khan) went to the house of Rai Sal Shekhawat. Ram Das was present there. On hearing the establishment of his (Ram Das) hold over the treasury and the return of Azam Khan and Man Sinh from the treasury in despair, they (Said Khan Barha and Murtuza Khan) shouted '*Allah O Akbar*'. They all advised Ram Das to augment the strength of the guard on the treasury. Under no circumstance the treasury was to go out of their hand and they decided that if Azam Khan and Man Sinh would turn up to fight, all their followers would go to fight in the support of Ram Das. As a precautionary measure, they decided to post their men at different points and places."

32. "On returning home, Ram Das found Azam Khan and Man Sinh waiting. As soon as he (Ram Das) came both of them (Azam Khan and Man Sinh) atonce asked as to why the guard had been posted at the treasury. Ram Das replied that he had been appointed by the emperor to guard the Mahal-i-

Sara as early as thirty-five years back and since then his appointment continues undisturbed. The imperial treasury is inside the Mahal-i-Sara and the responsibility to guard it lies on him. By posting a strong guard there, he (Ram Das) has been only discharging his duty”.

33. “On hearing this from Ram Das, Azam Khan said that he had been appreciating his foresight from the core of his heart and that he promised to reward him (Ram Das) amply, when the occasion turned up. He, however, asked him (Ram Das) to go along with him and hand over the key of the treasury”.

34. “Ram Das replied that he had posted strong guard at the treasury not out of love for getting rewards but out of sheer sense of duty. He would not permit anybody to enter into the precincts of the treasury without the emperor’s order. Hence there stood no question of going inside the treasury and handing over the key. Not to speak of treasury, strict eye would be kept on those who would enter into any part of the Mahal-i-Sara. Excepting certain selected few, none will be permitted to go inside (the Mahal-i-Sara). He would even impose restriction on the going in and getting out of the fort”.

35. “Azam Khan said that he had come to demand the key in accordance with the order of the emperor. Ram Das replied that since the emperor was seriously bed-ridden and was not in his proper senses, he was not fit enough to make any order. Hence the order issued under the aforesaid situation was not to be carried out. Azam Khan said that Sultan Khusrau had taken up the reigns of the administration in accordance with the wishes of the emperor and it was with his order that he (Azam Khan) had been demanding key. Ram Das replied that the emperor was alive and in his presence none else was to become the emperor and his order as such would not be obeyed”.

36. Man Sinh till then was keeping silence and was listening to the talks between Azam Khan and Ram Das. Man Sinh now reminded Ram Das as to who he (Man Sinh) was and what he could do. Ram Das replied that he remembered it well that he and Man Sinh came from the same line, that the identical blood ran into their veins. If at all there was any difference, it was only this much that whereas one was being



carried away by self-interest, the other was holding fast to the sheet-anchor of duty. Man Sinh asked Ram Das that he was going out of limits and he must control his tongue. Ram Das retorted that what he (Man Sinh) could do the utmost was that he (Man Sinh) might cut off his (Ram Das) tongue or break his head. But the true Rajputs were never afraid of it and were always out to kill and to be killed. He (Man Sinh) was always at liberty to cut off his (Ram Das) tongue and break his head and these two things were always ready for him. But so long as he (Ram Das) was alive, he (Man Sinh) would not get the key of the treasury and even after his (Ram Das) death it was a difficult job to secure the key. Man Sinh thereupon said that it now appeared that the sword and not the negotiation would settle the matter."

37. "Kishan Sinh who was listening to the talk from outside, came into the room and addressing Maharajah Sahib (i.e. Man Sinh) told him that swords would be met with sword. Whenever and wherever he (Man Sinh) liked, he might use sword and they (Kishan Sinh and Ram Das) were ready to meet the situation."

38. "Ram Das and Azam Khan interfered into the matter and did not let trouble take ugly turn. Azam Khan, finding further stay or talk not advisable, left the place with Man Sinh. While proceeding further from Hathiapul<sup>92</sup> they found the men of Ram Das on duty at the fort."

39. Azam Khan and Ram Das<sup>92a</sup> (Man Sinh ?) came to know that the number of their supporters was very small and they would have to take measures on their own strength. Azam Khan did not trust his followers. The Rajput followers of Man Sinh were trustworthy. But he (Man Sinh) did not deem it worth-while to get his Rajput followers slaughtered in this

92. Hathiapul is just near the Agrah Fort. See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, pp. 587-88, 1952 ed., Calcutta.

92a. Ram Das, as mentioned in the Hindi manuscript under clause no. 39, is a mistake for Man Sinh and for this the scribe is responsible.

contest. Hence he (Man Sinh) expressed his desire to go to Bangal with prince Khusrau.<sup>93</sup> Azam Khan, sensing danger for himself at Agrah, expressed his desire to accompany him (Rajah Man Sinh). Man Sinh started preparing to march. Azam Khan went to his house and sent his family to Man Sinh.<sup>94</sup>

40. "Mutamid Khan went to prince Salim at the time when the latter was about to march to Allahbad. He handed over to him (prince Salim) the message of Said Khan and Murtuza Khan and dissuaded him from undertaking the march. After some hours, they (Said Khan and Murtaza Khan) themselves came and told prince Salim of the frustration of the objectives of Azam Khan and Man Sinh. On hearing the loyalty of Shekhawat (Rai Sal) and the meritorious services of Ram Das, he (prince Salim) became very much pleased and promised to reward Ram Das amply, when the proper opportunity would come up.

41. "After receiving the news of loyalty from all sides, the prince (Salim) proceeded with his trusted servants to serve the emperor. As soon as the (prince Salim) entered into the room, the emperor opened his eyes. The emperor made a gesture of placing his turban over the head of the prince (Salim) and fixing his dagger round his (Salim's) waist. As soon as this was over, the emperor (Akbar) breathed his last after 22 days of illness on *Kartik Sudi Purnimashi*.<sup>95</sup> the Wednesday, *Samvat* 1662."

93. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. 1, p. 327, 1911-14 (41) ed., Calcutta.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol III, pp. 1260, 1261, 1931 ed., Calcutta, records that emperor Akbar died on the evening of Wednesday, the 4th *Aban*, 15th October, 1605 A.D. (12th *Jamadi-ul-Akhir*, 1014 A.H.). The Hindi manuscript gives the date of the emperor Akbar as *Kartik Sudi Purnimashi*, the Wednesday, 1662 *Samvat* which according to the *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.), falls on 16th October, 1605 A.D. and not the 15th October as calculated by H. Beveridge in his translation of *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 1260.

42. "Next day on *Magsar Badi* I,<sup>96</sup> Friday, *Samvat* 1662, prince Salim ascended the throne under the title of emperor Jahangir. After his accession to the throne, he treated the friends and foes alike, while rewarding the faithfuls, he kept the opponents in their post and increased their *mansab*. He even pardoned the faults of his bitterest opponents, namely, Azam Khan and Man Sinh.<sup>97</sup> He allowed Man Sinh to continue as the Governor of Bangal and permitted him to proceed to Bangal. He showered patronage on his supporters. The *mansab* of Farid Khan Bakshi was increased from 4000 to 5000,<sup>98</sup> whereas the *mansab* of Ram Das was increased from

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96. *Magsar Badi* I, Friday, *Samvat* 1662, falls on the 17th October, the Thursday, 1605 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).

97. *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 512, 1870 ed., Nawal Kishore Publication, and *Memoirs of Jahangir* tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, pp. 15-16, 1909 ed., London, and *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, pp. 54-55, 1952 ed., Calcutta, support the version of the Hindi manuscript.

98. *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 512, 1870 ed., Nawal Kishore Publication, records that Shaikh Farid Bukhari was made *Mir Bakhshi* and was granted the *mansab* of 5000 *zat* and *sawar*. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 20, 1909 ed., London, says that emperor Jahangir give to Shaikh Farid Bukhari, who held the rank of 4000, the rank that of 5000 and on p. 13 of *Memoirs of Jahangir*, there is the mention of Shaikh Farid as *Mir Bakhshi*. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I, pp. 52 -524, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta, records that Shaikh Farid Bukhari received the rank of 5000 and the high office *Mir Bakhshi*.

2000 to 3000.<sup>99</sup> Ram Das was allowed to remain incharge of treasury and Mahal-i-Sara.

43. "The prestige of Ram Das greatly increased in the court of emperor Jahangir.<sup>100</sup> His reputation reached high water-mark. The amirs got jealous at his prosperity and wherever they (nobles) met, they talked ill of him (Ram Das) and thought of plan to pull him down. But nobody had the courage to act openly against him (Ram Das) because of the fear of Kishan Sinh."

44. "Ram Das had been passing his days in the company of the learned persons, poets and saints for a long time after entrusting the affairs of his mansab to Kishan Sinh. But after the death of his son, he (Ram Das) withdrew from the world and devoted himself to his religious life. His house remained crowded with the ulama, poets and the saints. He used to serve them with all his sincerity. Pandit Gang had composed some verses in his praise. Ram Das, being pleased, gave him (Pandit Gang) all what he (Ram Das) could find before himself. Nobody went disappointed from the residence of Ram Das.<sup>101</sup> He gave something to all who turned up. Everyday Ram Das went to the Yamuna to take his bath and used to give to the beggars corn and money. In the winter season once the cold became very intense on account of the blowing of the hail-

99. *Memoirs of Jahangir*. tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 21, 1909 ed., London, records that the emperor Jahangir promoted Ram Das Kachhawaha, whom his father had favoured, and who held the rank of 2000 to that of 3000. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*. tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad Vol. II, p. 588, 1952 ed., Calcutta, records that in emperor Jahangir's time the rank of Ram Das Kachhawaha was increased and he gained greater influence and power as a result of showing his loyalty for him during the time of emperor Akbar's illness and death.

100. *Ibid*.

101. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 589, 1952 ed., Calcutta, records about the unequalled generosity and liberality of Ram Das,

storm. As usual, Ram Das went to the bathing ghat. After taking bath and giving the beggars their dues, he was returning. In the meanwhile an old man came up before him trembling. He did not tell him (Ram Das) anything but his eyes expressed his needs. He uncovered himself of the Pashmina Shawl and gave it to the old man, while he (Ram Das) himself went away shivering. When the emperor Jahangir came to know of his generosity. He gave him (Ram Das) the title of Karn."<sup>102</sup>

45. "Abhairam, Vijoy Ram, Sham Ram, the sons of Akhai Raj who was the nephew of Man Sinh, were in the imperial service.<sup>103</sup> They had got jagirs in return for their services. These three men had acted with insolence on several occasions in the past But his faults were pardoned out of consideration of the emperor's relationship with that family. This had turned their head all the more badly and they started acting insolently.

102. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. II, p. 588, 1952 ed., Calcutta, has recorded the followings :

"It is generally stated that he (Ram Das Kachhawaha) had the title of Rajah Karn, through it is not mentioned in the *Iqbalnamah*."

103. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, pp. 29-30, 1909 ed., London, corroborates the accounts of Hindi manuscript here relating to the rebellions of Abhai Ram, Vijoy Ram and Sham Ram, the sons of Akhai Raj. The Hindi manuscript and *Memoirs of Jahangir* mention about the date of happening when Abhai Ram and others took to fight and in which Abhai Ram was killed. The date is *Magh Badi Chaudas, Samvat 1662=27th Shaban 1014 A.H.=28th December, 1605*. *Memoirs of Jahangir* however, gives a more detailed account of the fight which resulted ultimately in the death of Abhai Ram and to that extent the *Memoirs of Jahangir* is an improvement upon the Hindi manuscript in question. Hindi manuscript says that Akhai Raj was the nephew of Rajah Man Sinh and as such Abhai Ram, Vijoy Ram and Sham Ram who were the sons of Akhai Raj happened to be the grandson of Rajah Man

Being disgusted with their acts of insolence, the emperor one day asked Ram Das in the darbar if he could undertake responsibility for them, only then they could be pardoned and their jagirs be allowed to be retained by them. Ram Das made a representation, confirming the fact that Abhai Ram and others were his relations. But since they were the sons of Akhai Raj, the nephew of Man Sinh, they happened to be his (Man Sinh's) grandsons. Hence it was desirable that Man Sinh should undertake their responsibility by Ram Das in the face of Man Sinh would create bitterness. Man Sinh was already angry with him from before and his (Ram Das) undertaking responsibility for them would embitter him (Man Sinh) all the more. Hence Ram Das requested to be excused of it".

46. "After the refusal of Ram Das, the emperor waited for sometime, but when neither Man Sinh nor other relations of their offered to undertake responsibility for them, the emperor ordered that so long as no surety turned up, they were to be lodged in jail. In accordance with the order, Amir-ul-Umara

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Sinh. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 29, 1909 ed., London, records that Abhai Ram and Sham Ram were the sons of Akhai Raj, that Akhai Raj was the son of Bhagwan Das, and that Bhagwan Das was the paternal uncle of Rajah Man Sinh. It is well-known that Man Sinh was the adopted son of Bhagwant Das and now it appears from the aforesaid passage of *Memoirs of Jahangir* that Man Sinh was the nephew of Bhagwan Das. Quite plausibly Bhagwant Das and Bhagwan Das were two brothers. Another thing that comes out of this aforesaid passage of *Memoirs of Jahangir* is that Akhai Raj and Man Sinh happened to be paternal brothers and in that case Abhai Ram, Vijoy Ram and Sham Ram happened to be the nephew of Rajah Man Sinh and not his grandsons as shown in Hindi manuscript.

deputed Shahbaz Khan<sup>104</sup> and Kakar Khan<sup>105</sup> to arrest them. When they went there for their arrest, Abhai Ram and others took to fight, after slaying many persons, he (Abhairam) too fell dead on *Magh Badi Chaudas*,<sup>106</sup> *Samvat* 1662.”

47. “The empeor sent from Bagh Shahr-ara<sup>107</sup> Mana Sinh, the grandson of Man Sinh, in the company of Ram Das on the expedition of Bangash<sup>108</sup> on *Asadh Sudi* 13,<sup>109</sup> *Samvat* 1664.

104. The Hindi manuscript has wrongly recorded the name as Shahbaz Khan. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 29, 1909 ed., London, has correctly recorded the name as Hatim who held the title of Shah-nawaz Khan.

105. The Hindi manuscript has not given the full name of Kakar Khan. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge p. 29, 1909 ed., London, has recorded the name as Ibrahim Khan Kakar.

106. *Magh Badi Chaudas*, *Samvat* 1662, falls on the 28th December, 1605 A.D., vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).

107. Shahr-ara garden or Bagh Shahr-ara (city adorning) is a garden of Kabul and it was made by Shabr-banu Begam daughter of Mirza Abu Sa'id, who was an aunt to the late king Babur. From time to time it has been added to, and there is not a garden like this for sweetness in Kabul. It has all sorts of fruits and grapes and its softness is such that to put ones sandled feet on it would be far from propriety or good manners. At Kabul, Jahangir had several entertainments in this garden. See *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 106, 1909 ed., London.

108. Bangash was a district in the province of Karman and is situated in modern Kohat in N.W.F. P. See *Munikhah-ut-Tawarikh* by Badayuni, tr. by Lowe, Vol. II, p. 436 (Index), 1924 ed., Calcutta, and *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 20 (Index), 1939 ed., Calcutta. The Imperial Gazetteer has made no mention of it.

109. *Asadh Sudi* 13, *Samvat* 1664, falls on the 27th June, 1607 A.D., vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799

After two months, two lakhs of rupees were sent on *Badi Dooj, Bhado*<sup>110</sup> *Samvat* 1664 to Ram Das and Maha Sinh to defray the expenses of the army.<sup>111</sup> Subsequently after being pleased with the service of Ram Das and in keeping with the promise given at the time of accession to the throne, Ram Das was granted jagir on *Kartik Sudi Panchmi*,<sup>112</sup> *Samvat* 1664, in the country of Kabul<sup>113</sup> and he (Ram Das) was sent there to the aid of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, the governor of Kabul".

48. 'Rajah Man Sinh had been on enimical terms with Ram Dass from very beginning, and it grew strong with the events that preceeded the accession of the emperor (Jahangir) to the throne. Kishan Sinh was looked upon (by Rajah Man Sinh) with greatest abhorrence. But whenever he (Man Sinh)

A.D.). *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge p. 111, 1909 ed., London give this date as 14 *Rabi* I, 1016 A.H.=29 May, 1607 A.D. vide the *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).

110. *Badi Dooj Bhadoo, Samvat* 1664, falls on the 30th July, 1607 A.D. vide the *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.). *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 118, 1909 ed., London, gives the date as 15th *Rabi-ul-Akhir* 1016 A.H.=30th July, 1607 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).
111. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 118, 1909 ed., Calcutta, corroborates here the version of the Hindi manuscript.
112. *Kartik Sudi Pancham, Samvat* 1664, falls on the 15th October, 1607 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.). *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 118, 1909 ed., London, gives the date as 3rd *Rajab*, 1016 A.H.=14th October, 1607 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).
113. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 128, 1909 ed., London, records that emperor Jahangir ordered Ram Das Kachhawaha to receive a jagir in this province (of Kabul) and to be enrolled among the auxiliaries of this Subah (of Kabul).



happened to meet him (Kishan Sinh), the former addressed the latter as Dulha Rajah with all courtesy. He (Man Sinh) was, however, always thinking of exterminating him (Kishan Sinh). The followers of Man Sinh who were aware of his intention, one day found Kishan Sinh to be alone and attacked him. He (Kishan Sinh) fell fighting on *Bhado Sudi Punam, Samvat 1667*".<sup>114</sup>

49. "When the dead body of Kishan Sinh was brought into the palace of Ram Das, Sambhu Sinh became dumb founded. But Kunwar Bhairav Sinh, a lad of 14, became deadly ferocious and his eyes grew red. His lips began to quiver and he began to take heavy sigh. He then leapt up, took up the sword and made a vow in the name of his mother's milk to wreak vengeance on the enemy. Sambhu Sinh who was sitting keeping mum, asked Kunwar (Bhairav Sinh) as to why he took such a vow without proper deliberation. It was not an easy job to wreak revenge on the enemy. He (Bhairav Sinh) was still just an inexperienced lad. Moreover it was his (Sambhu Sinh's) duty to wreak revenge and as such he (Bhairav Sinh) ought not to have interfered. At any rate, the promises of Rajputs were unshakeable. He (Sambhu Sinh) would help him (Bhairav Sinh)."

50. "The emperor was very much displeased with the reverses of the imperial forces in the Deccan. He despatched Khan-i-Jahan Lodi with a huge force."<sup>115</sup> On reaching Burhan-

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114. *Bhado Sudi Punam, 1667 Samvat*, falls on the 24th August, 1610 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).

115. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, pp. 161, 162, 1909 ed., Calcutta, gives a detailed account as to how and under which circumstances Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was despatched to the Deccan under the order of emperor Jahangir. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I, p. 796, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta gives a detailed version about the despatch of Khan-i-Jahan and fully corroborates the version of the Hindi manuscript and further adds that when Khan-i-Jahan Lodi at Burhanpur

pur,<sup>116</sup> Khan-i-Jahan Lodi tried his level best to improve the situation, but to no effect.<sup>117</sup> The emperor thereupon deputed Firoz Jang, the governor of Gujrat, with ten thousand *sawars* to the Deccan on 13th *Badi Savan*,<sup>118</sup> 1668 *Samvat*. He was directed to pounce upon the enemy through Triambak.<sup>119</sup>

failed to improve the situation, he came back to emperor Jahangir who treated him politely and sent him back to Balaghat (in the Deccan) to deal with Malik Ambar against whom he had proved futile just before.

116. Burhanpur is a town in Nimar District in the former Central Provinces. Lat. 21° 18' 33" N. Long. 76° 16' 26"E. It is situated on the north bank of the river Tapti, about 40 miles south by west from Khandwa, and 2 miles from the former Great Indian Peninsula Railway Station of Lalbagh.
117. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad Vol. I, p. 796, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta.
118. 13th *Badi Savan*, *Samvat* 1668, falls on the 27th July, 1611 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.). The Hindi manuscript, therefore, gives the exact date about the despatch of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang which is not found in the contemporary sources like *Memoirs of Jahangir* and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* and to that extent the Hindi manuscript is an improvement upon other sources. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I, p. 98, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta, gives only the name of the year 1020 A.H. (1616 A.D.) as time of the despatch of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang to the Deccan against Malik Amber. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, however, corroborates the Hindi manuscript that Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang proceeded to the Deccan with six thousand forces.
119. Triambak (more correctly called Tryambak, "the three eyed", a name of Mahadeva) is a town and municipality in Nasik District, Bombay Presidency, situated in Lat. 19° 54' 50" N., and Long. 73° 33' 50"E., 20 miles south-west of Nasik town, See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. XIII, 1887 ed., London.

Nasik<sup>120</sup> route and was also asked to wait on the frontiers till the arrival of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Man Sinh.<sup>121</sup> As soon as the last two named personages were to turn up, the enemy was to be attacked on the two sides."<sup>122</sup>

51. "Not being satisfied with this arrangement, it was decided to send Ram Das Kachhawaha on *Bhado Sudi Punam* 1668 *Samvat* to the aid of Firoz Jang.<sup>123</sup> Ram Das was given the title of Rajah and was rewarded with a jagir of

120. Nasik is the chief town of the Nasik district, Bombay Presidency, situated at Lat. 19° 59' 45" N. and Long. 73° 59' 50" E. 4 miles north-west of Nasik Road Station of the former Great Indian Peninsular Railway. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. X, pp. 235-236, 1886 ed., London.

121. Burhanpur is a town in Nimar District in the former Central Provinces. Lat. 21° 18' 33" N. Long. 76° 16' 26" E. It is situated on the north bank of the river Tapti, about 40 miles south by west from Khanda, and 2 miles from the former Great Indian Peninsula Railway Station of Lalbagh.

122. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I, p. 796, 1911-41 end, Calcutta.

123. 13th *Badi Savan* 1668 *Samvat*, falls on the 27th July, 1611 A.D. Vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.). The Hindi manuscript, therefore gives the exact date about the despatch of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang which is not found in the contemporary sources like *Memoirs of Jahangir* and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* and to that extent the Hindi manuscript is an improvement upon other sources, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I, p. 98, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta, gives only the name of the year 1020 A.H.=1611 A.D. as time of the despatch of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang to the Deccan against Malik Ambar. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* Vol. I, however, corroborates the Hindi manuscript that Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang proceeded to the Deccan with six thousand forces.

Ranthambhor<sup>124</sup> and was honoured with horses, elephants and kettle-drum as Nisan.<sup>125</sup> Ram Das was asked to keep an eye on Firoz-Jang and not to let him make haste and was instructed to attack the enemy only after effecting junction with the forces of Lodi and Man Sinh.<sup>124</sup>

52. "As ordered, Ram Das began to make preparation for his march to the Deccan. At this, Sambhu Sinh represented that his father had all through his life led the mansab-bearing Rajput followers into the battle-field and had spent his life into his (Ram Das) services. He (Sambhu Sinh) had learnt the art of wielding swords at the feet of his father and as such it was not proper to appoint others in his stead (Sambhu Sinh) to lead the mansab-bearing Rajput followers. He (Sambhu Sinh), therefore, made a request for his appointment in his father's place. Ram Das, thereupon asked Sambhu Sinh to make preparations for march. Sambhu Sinh came fully prepared, accompanied by Bhairav Sinh. Seeing Bhairav Sinh fully prepared, Ram Das wanted to check him, but the latter did not agree. Finding no way out. Ram Das started along with him (Bhairav Sinh). When Ram Das reached the country of Dhundhar,<sup>127</sup> Sambhu Sinh sought permission to go to

124. Ranthambhor is a fort in Jaipur State in Rajasthan. Long. 76° 30' E, Lat. 26° 2' N, situated on an isolated rock. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. XI, p. 511, 1886 ed., London.

125. See f.n. 123.

126. See f.n. 123.

127. Dhoondar is the principality in Rajasthan and it is better known by its capital Amber or Jaipur. Dhoondhar is the region which is inhabited by Kachhawahas. Like the other Rajput States, the country of the Kachhawahas is an assemblage of the communities, the territories of which have been wrested from the aboriginal tribes, or from independent chieftains, at various periods : and therefore the term Dhoondar, which was one of their earliest acquisitions, had scarcely a title to impose its name upon the

Bagru<sup>128</sup> along with Bhairav Sinh. On being asked the reason of going to Chaturbhujats, Sambhu Sinh replied that, Achla the son of Banbirot Bhairo, along with his Rajput followers, has been putting up with Chaturbhujats, and this was the best opportunity for Kunwar (Bhairav Sinh) to wreak revenge on him. If the Kunwar was killed, he (Sambhu Sinh) then would come back day after tomorrow avenging losses of both the father and the son (i.e. Kishan Sinh and Bhairav Sinh). Ram Das tried to dissuade Sambhu Sinh from his resolve, but ultimately he (Ram Das) had to issue permission."

53. Sambhu Sinh, accompanied by Kunwar Bhairav Sinh and some Rajput followers, went straight way to the doors of Chaturbhujats. Kunwar Bhairav Sinh threw out a challenge to Achla and in the fight that followed Achla was killed at the hands of the Kunwar (Bhairav Sinh). The Kunwar (Bhairav Sinh) was also severely wounded and fell unconscious. Sambhu Sinh put the wounded Kunwar (Bhairav Sinh) into the Doli and brought him to Ram Das. Ram Das stayed for sometime in his area for the treatment of the Kunwar (Bhairav Sinh). Soon after he made the necessary arrangements and proceeded

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aggregate. The etymology of Dhoondar is from a once celebrated sacrificial mount (Dhoond) on the western frontier, near Kalik Jobnair. The descendant of Rajah Nal, named Sora Sing (thirty-third in descent from Nal), laid the foundation of the State of Dhoondar in *Samvat* 1023 or 967 A.D. See Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* Vol. II, pp. 345-346, 1832 ed., London.

128. Bagru is situated in between the Long. 75° and 76° and Lat. 26° and 27° and is to the south-west of Jaipur. It is a town in Jaipur State of Rajputana, on the Agrah and Ajmer road, about 18 miles south-west from Jaipur. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. I, p. 420, 1885 ed., London.

along with Sambhu Sinh to Gujrat and reached Ahmadabad<sup>129</sup> in time after undertaking marches day and night."

54. "After the arrival of Ram Das at Ahmadabad, Abdullah Khan, accompanied by his fourteen thousand forces<sup>129a</sup> comprising of his three thousand personal *sawars*, ten thousand imperial *sawars* and one thousand Grasiya Rajputs of Gujrat, proceeded towards Daulatabad.<sup>130</sup> While proceeding from Ahmadabad, he (Abdullah Khan) decided on the way to give rest to his forces for sometime in the territories of Bharji Rathor<sup>131</sup> of Baglana.<sup>132</sup> Ram Das represented that since the army had to remain in encampment there for sometime, it would be advisable first to fix the date of their march and then to send a messenger to Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Man Sinh so that by the time their (Abdullah Khan's) forces would be entering into the areas of the enemy, they (Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Man Sinh) also would be reaching the frontier of the

129. Ahmadabad is a district in the province of Gujrat, lying between 21° 57' 30" and 23° 24' 30" N. Lat., and 71° 20' and 72° 57' 30" E. Long. The chief-town and the administrative headquarters of the District is Ahmedabad City. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. I, p. 82, 1885 ed., London.

129a. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 219, 1909 ed., London.

130. Daulatabad is a town in the former dominion of Nizam, in Long. 75° 18'E, and Lat 19° 57' N, 10 miles north-west from Aurangabad, 170 miles north-east of Bombay, 280 miles north-west of Hyderabad, See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. III, p. 60, 1881 ed., London.

131. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 221 under f.n. 1, 1909 ed., London, has written Bharji Rathor as Rajah Bharjee of Baglana.

132. Baglana is a tract in Nasik district, Bombay. See *Akbar-namah*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 20 (Index), 1939 ed., Calcutta.

enemy's kingdom from the other side.<sup>133</sup> But Abdullah Khan poohpoohed his suggestion and refused to act upon it."<sup>134</sup>

55. "While marching from Baglanah, Bharji Rathor along with his forces joined them<sup>135</sup> (the expeditionary imperial forces). When Abdullah Khan reached Nasik via Triambak, Ram Das advised him not to proceed further and deemed it expedient to communicate information to Lodi and Man Sinh.<sup>136</sup> But Abdullah Khan branded him to be a frightful coward and, speaking of the valour of his arm, he expressed his mind of scoring victory upon the enemy unaided. He said that if victory was gained with the aid of Man Sinh and Lodi, it would not be an indication of his valour.<sup>137</sup> Having thus made out his mind, he (Abdullah Khan) marched onwards from Nasik without (enlisting the help of) Man Sinh and others.

56. "When the Imperial forces marched several stages beyond Nasik, the men of the enemy came in sight and they began to make surprise attack upon the wings of the imperial

133. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, pp. 219-221 : *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 532-533, 1870 ed., Nawal Kishore Publication; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol., I, pp. 98-99, 796 and 797, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta. Hindi manuscript is, however more detailed especially in matters relating to Ram Das Kachhawaha in this Mughal campaign of the Deccan and completely absolves Ram Das of the responsibility for the defeat of the Mughal force and deposits the responsibility on the shoulder of Abdullah Khan Firoz a fact which has been testified to in *Memoirs of Jahangir* tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 219, 1909 ed., London.

134. *Ibid.*

135. This is a new information which is not available in the contemporary sources like *Memoirs of Jahangir* and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*.

136. See f n. 133.

137. See f.n. 133.

forces and also pounced from behind.<sup>138</sup> In the day they (the enemy) created less trouble, but in the darkness of night they created immense menace for the (imperial) forces.<sup>139</sup> This put all, big and small, to great annoyance in view of the fact that whereas they (the imperial forces) continued their marches in the day, they could not afford to have their food and sleep in the night."

57. "Seeing this situation, Ram Das once again advised Abdullah Khan not to advance further and counselled him to wait till the arrival of Man Sinh and Lodi. But still the wise counsel of Ram Das did not prevail upon Abdullah Khan and the latter marched on and came near Daulatabad.<sup>140</sup> By the time they arrived near Daulatabad, thousands of the soldiers of imperial forces were killed in the course of attacks made during the day and night. The approaches to the imperial forces were cut off and hence there grew shortage of food, grains. The forces became famished with starvation. The enemies got their much desired opportunity and they attacked (the imperial force) from all sides. Abdullah Khan was the first to fly away. Despite his flight, Ali Mardan Khan held the ground with his forces. The Rajput forces of Ram Das under the leadership of Sambhu Sinh stemmed the advancing tide of the enemy."

58. "The enemies surrounded Ali Mardan Khan. Seeing Ali Mardan Khan in danger, Sambhu Sinh proceeded to his aid with some of his Rajput followers. Sambhu Sinh, in his efforts to save Ali Mardan Khan, got separated from his followers and thus himself got into trouble. Ali Marden Khan was wounded and arrested<sup>141</sup> and his followers took to flight. The enemy cut down the fleeing forces (of Ali Mardan Khan) like the carrots. The setting Sun, however, came to save them. As they could effect their flight under the cover of the darkness and all fled away in the different directions in accordance with their opportunities."

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138. *Ibid.*

139. *Ibid.*

140. *Ibid.*

141. *Ibid.*



59. "Seeing Sambhu Sinh going to the aid of Khan (Ali Mardan Khan) and then finding him to be cut off from his followers, Amara Devda rushed with some of his Rajput followers and advanced further after slaying some of enemies. But before the (Amara Devda) could come, Sambhu Sinh made his way in another direction. When Sambhu Sinh and Amara became surrounded, another detachment of the enemy made a vigorous attack upon the Kachhawahas. In the meanwhile the third detachment (of the enemy) pounced upon them (Kachhawahas). For sometime the Kachhawahas held their ground, but, not being able to cope with the three-sided attack, they took to flight."

60. "When Ram Das heard the arrest of the wounded Ali Mardan Khan and saw Sambhu Sinh being cut off from his followers and then disappearing in the midst of the enemy and further that Amara Devda who had gone in search of Sambhu Sinh also failed to turn up, whereas his (Ram Das) Rajput followers were taking to flight, he (Ram Das) did not deem it expedient to wait any longer and, being heart-broken, took to his heels. The idea of committing suicide hit him (Ram Das) several times, but dismissing it as an act of cowardice, he decided to face the wrath of the imperial court that was due to come as a result of this defeat. But find it not advisable to appear directly in the court, he thought of watching the situation in cognito and he therefore left the straightway route while proceeding."

61. "He spent some days in cognito at Nasik. He then proceeded in the company of the travellers and reached Mathura via Mandhata Onkar<sup>142</sup> and Ujjain.<sup>143</sup> He tried to

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142. Mandhata Onkar is an island in the Narbada river, attached to the Nimar District, in the former Central Provinces. It is famous for its numerous temples including the great shrine of Onkar, a form of Shiva. According to the Narmada Khanda, which professes to be a portion of Skanda Purana, the island was originally called Baidurya Mani Parvat: but its name was changed to Mandhata as a boon from Onkar to Rajah Mandhatri.

know the state of affairs in the imperial court. After sometime he got the news that the responsibility for the reverses in the Deccan was sought to be foisted on his shoulder and in this attempt Man Sinh had a large share. On the receipt of this news (of the imperial disaster in the Deccan) the emperor got furious, caused the pictures of Firoz-Jang and other fleeting officers to be drawn up and then he took each of the pictures in his hand and maligned the man there.<sup>144</sup> When his turn (the turn of the picture of Ram Das) came up, after being properly reprimanded,<sup>145</sup> his jagir was confiscated and his palace was occupied."

62. "When his (Ram Das's) jagir was confiscated and his Matiaburz Palace was brought under imperial possession, Bhairav Sinh along with his brother and sister and his Rajput followers went to Newata. But finding no trace of him (Ram Das) and Sambhu Sinh who were taken to be dead, Banbirot marched against him (Bhairav Sinh). Bhairav Sinh, prior to his (Banbirot's) arrival, left Newata and fled away to Mewar. On the way he (Bhairav Sinh) put up with Rao Shubhkaran

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17th of the solar race, who performed a great sacrifice to the God. Mandhara was a seat of Shiva worship in early age. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, pp. 293-294, 1886 ed., London.

143. Ujjain is a town in the Native State of Gwalior in Long. 75° 51' 45" E. Lat. 23° 11' 10" N. vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. XIII, p. 417, 1887 ed., London.
144. See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad Vol. 1, p. 99, 1911-41 ed., Calcutta, where Abdullah Khan in his picture was being maligned by the emperor Jahangir for the former's flight from the battlefield in the Deccan and the emperor in sheer disdain called him Gurez Jang.
145. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, tr. by H. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasad Vol. II, p. 588, records that the emperor Jahangir was maligning Ram Das Kachhawaha in his portrait.

at Bijolia.<sup>146</sup> Rao put him (Bhairav Sinh) into the service of Kunwar Karan. On receiving this news, Ram Das felt a sense of relief.

63. "After some days the emperor came to know<sup>147</sup> that the defeat of Abdullah Khan was not due to Ram Das but due his wild haste and arrogance and that Ram Das was completely innocent in this matter. He (Ram Das) had all through given the right counsel, but Abdullah Khan always turned down his saner advice and acted according to his whims. He (Abdullah Khan) even called Ram Das frightful coward, a charge which no Rajput could have tolerated, but Ram Das even then exercised restraint on himself so that the imperial interest might not suffer. In the battle-field also even after the flight of Abdullah Khan, Ram Das held the ground till (Ali) Mardan Khan became wounded and was arrested. Finding no way out, he (Ram Das) took to flight as his Rajput followers were scattered away and his relatives were untraceable. The allegations were levelled against Ram Das by his enemy with a view to lowering him in the estimate of the emperor. When the emperor came to know the real state of affairs, he was extremely sorry. But since he (Ram Das) was not traceable, the confiscation order was not withdrawn."

146. Bijoli (Bijolia) :—It is a chief village of an estate of that name in Udaipur Native State, Rajputana, situated about 100 miles north-east of Udaipur. *Imperial Gazetteer of India* by Hunter, Vol. II, p. 437, 1885 ed., London.
147. Emperor Jahangir came to know through Khawajah Abul Hasan the real state of affairs about the defeat of Mughal forces in the Daccan, while fighting against Malik Ambar. He then became convinced of the innocence of Ram Das Kachhawaha and realised that the responsibility for the defeat of the Mughal army lay with Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang. See *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 219, 1909 ed., London.

64. "Ram Das now went straight to the court of the emperor on *Pus Sudi Panchami*, 1669 *Samvat*,<sup>148</sup> presented 2001 mohurs and distributed 101 mohurs.<sup>149</sup> The emperor was very much pleased at his (Ram Das) turning up, conferred upon him the *Khil'at* and rewarded him with elephants, horses and thirty thousand of rupees. He (Ram Das) was permitted to go to his palace."

65. "After taking rest for some days, Ram Das sent his men to Rao Shubhkaran and expressed his sense of gratification. He advised Kunwar Bhairav Sinh to remain steadfast in his devoted services to Kunwar Karan and asked him not to loose heart for Sambhu Sinh."

66. "After sometime the emperor deputed Ram Das to settle the trouble that had been brewing up between Qulich Khan Bangash and other officers at Kabul.<sup>150</sup> In accordance with the order, he reached the destination after two months of march. But as soon as he reached there, he fell ill and after five months of protracted illness he dead on *Bhado Badi Ashtmi*, 1670 *Samvat*.<sup>151</sup> The news of his death reached the

148. *Pus Sudi Panchami*, *Samvat* 1669, falls on the 17th December, 1612 A.D. vide the *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).

149. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 233, 1909 ed., London, speaks of the presentation of 101 mohurs to the emperor Jahangir by Ram Das.

150. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 233, 1909 ed., London. It gives extra information that Ram Das was given Rs. 30,000 to meet with the expenses while going to Kabul and was given a horse and a robe of honour.

151. *Bhado Badi Ashtmi* 1670 *Samvat*, falls on 30th July, 1630 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.). This is a new information not bound in the contemporary histories of the period.

emperor, on *Asin Sudi Saptmi*<sup>152</sup> (1670 Samvat)."

67. "Since Ram Das had no successor and since his sister's son had joined the rebels in the Deccan and since his grandsons had fled away to Rana, the emperor allowed his Khalsah at Ranthambhor to continue, but declared his Matiaburz Palace to become the royal property.

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152. *Asin Sudi Saptmi*, 1670 Samvat falls on the 10th September 1613 A.D. vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.). *Memoirs of Jahangir* tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, p. 252, 1909 ed., London gives the date as 28th Sharwar or 6th Shaban, 1022 A.H. = 11th September, 1613 vide *Indian Ephemeris* by L.D.S. Pillai (1600-1799 A.D.).

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